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JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION

the Afro-Asian Journalist

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THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND THE ANTI-COLONIALIST | PAN-AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL

DEDICATED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR TOTAL LIBERATION AND ABSOLUTE UNITY OF AFRICA

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Progressive Review.

* A PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC, BI MONTHLY REVIEW, WITH A SOUTH EAST ASIA BASIS.....
* FOR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY AND UNDERSTANDING.
* ANTI — IMPERIALIST AND ANTI — COLONIALIST.

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REVOLUTION

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REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM AT ITS HEIGHT.

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editorial

the Afro-Asian Journalist

TWO LINES INVOLVED.....

By
Joesoef
Deputy
Secretary-General

During the last few weeks various pertinent, important and far reaching events have taken place which deservedly effects all Afro-Asian journalists and indeed all revolutionaries who are sincerely involved in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, the defense of genuine world peace and last but not least the all embracing struggle and support of the national liberation movements.

Naturally the Afro-Asian journalists centred around the AAJA are not only effected by the events that have taken place, but they are conscienciously and intentionally involved in them. For we assert that it is our bounden duty to be involved, for we cannot and nay, will not, fall foul to that absjentionist trash that tries to seperate our daily practice of journalism from the objective political mileau obtaining in the world today. In short we once more assert that our journalism cannot be isolated from politics.

The first event that naturally concerns us is the successful holding and outcome of the Second Non Alligned Summit Conference attended by 47 Heads or Representatives of Heads of States. The successful outcome of the Conference is something in which we all rejoice. The final Communique if thoroughly perused reflects a strong anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist stand. It recognises the obligation that all countries who profess to be anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist have to overtly, both morally and materially, support the national liberation movements. It places peacceful co-existence in its proper perspective, subordinating it to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle and to the national liberation struggles. The Conference also reflected two distinct "lines". One, the "line" taken and supported by the overwhelming majority. That is the clear cut anti-imperialist/anti-colonialist line. A line that asserts that imperialism is not dead. That it is most rampart and aggressive in the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America. That it is meeting its doom and destruction in these storm centres. A line undauntedly supporting the national liberation movements. The second or other line was one which reflected the attitude of countries *arriviste*. Their contention being that only a "few minor" pockets of colonialism remain, that imperialism is not so dangerous any more, that it is more important to have peace than freedom, that the new emerging forces should direct All their attention and energies to reconstruction. It was a great triumph for the uncompromising anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces that the first line prevailed. The measure of this success and triumph can (for after all the correctness of our anti-imperialist line can be successfully gauged by the venom and opposition coming from the imperialists themselves) be discerned by the evaluation of the Conference by the Imperialists led by the USA. They unequivocably supported and praised the protanganists of the second line. They "deplored" the attacks on them, they threatened withdrawal of "aid", they misreported, maligned and insulted the "hard" liners. They sang the praises of Tshombe, the imperialist stooge, and attempted in various ways to make it possible for him to attend the Summit Conference. But the rejection of Tshombe, and the stand taken preventing him from contaminating the clear air of the Conference, is a clear indication of the firm anti-colonialist/anti-imperialist stand of the Conference, and the triumph for the revolutionary forces.

The AA peoples have in no uncertain terms demonstrated their correct assessment of the objective world forces at hand. They have once more dealt a stunning blow at the Imperialists and their apologists. History has once more demonstrated that the AA peoples are on the march. History has once more disappointed the Imperialists and their apologists, who cannot and will not learn from the lessons of History. No wonder Hegel once remarked : "The one thing one learns from history is that nobody learns anything from history."

In pursuance of its correct anti-imperialist/anti-colonialist stand the AAJA supports the outcome of the Conference, and in line with its strong revolutionary traditions will help wherever possible in the implementation of the resolutions.

A second important event, of no less importance, which has taken place during these last few weeks is the imperialistic, undemocratic actions in the field of world sport.

Challenged by the New Emerging forces that it — the IOC — was completely controlled by the imperialists and their lackeys, did not reflect the changed revolutionary situation in the sports world today, and could only do so if radically recomposed, the IOC through itself and through its agencies the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) and the International Swimming Federation (FINA) and other epigons have started a concerted anti-GANEFO campaign, using various sinister methods. They have pledged themselves to at all cost destroy GANEFO, and keep under their imperialist thumb all sport activities in the world. In close connivance with the IOC. the FINA and IAAF recently with typical imperialist reasoning banned ALL GANEFO athletes from participating in the 18th Olympic Games held in Tokyo. As a result two great revolutionary Asian countries refused to participate under such humiliating conditions.

The AAJA cannot, will not, and has not stood aloof on this issue. We believe

that as revolutionaries, as concious and committed journalists what has happened is also, and directly, our concern. We firmly believe that imperialism and colonialism must be challenged on all fronts, whether in the journalistic, social, economic or sports fields, or whether in the ditches and trenches armed with bamboo spikes, the machotte and machine gun. ALL avenues of imperialist domination must be challenged. That is an undeniable sine qua non for any active revolutionary to be accepted as such. The AAJA has as usual taken sides. We have foursquaredly placed ourselves on the side of GANEFO, a sports body manifesting the new emergent sport ideals which is directed against imperialist control in the field of sports. The anti-GANEFO acts of the IOC and its agencies FINA and IAAF are doomed to fail. They are outside the mainstream of historical events, and no belittling, no jostling, no militating against will succeed in destroying GANEFO. GANEFO will grow. GANEFO will continue, GANEFO will, as the night must follow the day, snowball into a mighty anti-imperialist/anti-colonialist body in the field of sports representing the new emerging forces, and around which the dynamic polorization of sports activities will take place.

We are convinced that instead of strangling GANEFO and its supporters the arbitrary action can and will only inject new life into it. Like the giant in the fable freedom regains new spirit and greater strength after every fall.

Any action that manifests and illustrates the growing might of the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America naturally meets with concerted opposition, counter-revolution and sabotage from the imperialist/colonialist and their faithful apologists. The recent successful explosion of an atomic bomb by Peoples' China have thrown the Imperialists and especially the ring leader — US imperialism, into a flurry of confusion. The debility and disarticulation of the Imperialists and their faithful followers have nowhere been more evident. They rave and they rant that the "world is on the verge of a holocaust, of destruction". "That world peace is stake", etc. The people of Africa, Asia and Latin America are used to these rantings and ravings. For years now have the peoples of the storm centres been threatened and cajoled by the threat of the usage of "the" bomb by the imperialists. They have used the threat of the "might" of the bomb, as a means to increase their counter-revolutionary activities, of stepping up their aggressive acts, of interfering in the affairs of our countries. In fact there has never been world peace since the imperialists have possessed nuclear weapons. Wars have raged and are still raging in the storm centres. In South Vietnam, in Angola, in the Congo, Cyprus, South Yemen etc, revolutionary wars are raging and swelling. They have used their possession of nuclear weapons to attempt to dominate the world. The possession of "the" bomb in the hands of Afro-Asia, Latin America can only help to check the nuclear blackmail of the Imperialists forces. It is a weapon of peace. Our unqualified believe in the correctness of the struggle of the Afro-Asian Latin American peoples, our unswerving believe that it is in these areas, and nowhere else where imperialism is the most aggressive and is meeting its doom, makes our possession of nuclear weapons a considerable checkmate to the nuclear weapons of the imperialists. The overwhelming acclamation of this event by the revolutionary forces in the world and especially Afro-Asia in no uncertain terms vindicate this stand.

In falling over their heels to mimic the cries and jowls of the imperialists over the possession of nuclear weapons by a member of the storm centres, the apologists of imperialism, together with their masters, threaten us with the stupendous destructive powers of the "Bomb". We assert, as we have continously and categorically stated, that the might of the people lie in themselves. Man will always be superior to weapons. Because of our infinite faith in the people, we believe that man will always win. It is indeed in the storm centres where in Gramsci's sense imperialist and colonialist domination is hegemonic and as such require the buttress of peoples might as well as the buttress of naked force. So that we do not as these epigons, go into a frenzied epileptic fit of terror at nuclear weapons, but rather believe that its possession by the Afro-Asian Latin American peoples — the storm centres in the anti-imperialist struggle — negates the "terror" of the bomb in the hands of the exclusive "nuclear Club", increases the efforts of genuine peace, and brings nearer a genuine world test ban treaty.

One of the essential problems in understanding imperialism and colonialism is to closely examine the elements that make it up, and in discovering any differences that reign within this camp. One such problem lies in our understanding the *diferentia specifica* within the ruling elements among the imperialists. One important event which has taken place a few weeks ago and which requires our considered attention is the narrow victory of the British Labour Party over the British Conservative Party in the British elections just held. Our examination of the differences between the two parties convinces us that the points of agreement are more than the points of differences. Indeed the "differences" are so slight that it needs a very imaginative mind to discover the *differentia specifica* between the two parties. It is true that here and there slight "differences" might and will appear eg. in relation maybe to the "High Commission Territories", but we must harbour no illusions whatsoever in entertaining ideas of great and fundamental "differences". Beneath the veneer of "essential" differences lie the same colonial policies, draped in more alluring and dazzling attire. The complete consensus of opinion betwen the two parties vis-a-vis "Malaysia" is a wonderful example of "differences" in action.

As revolutionary and inquiring journalists it behoves us to assess, to diagnose and be attentive to any changes that could be advantageous to us. However, we must not be fooled by apparent "differences", but must judge every case in detail and with revolutionary objectivity.

The above events, are events of no mean importance. We are involved in and effected directly by them. We reiterate. We will with candor, without fear and with no holds barred continously expose all those who have fallen prey to reactionary pragmatism, obfuscation and subjectivism. We will meet imperialism headlong forcefully and guilelessly in all the areas where it dominates. Such is our destiny. Such are the lessons of history.

history of the PRESS in the U.A.R

تاريخ الصحافة في الجمهورية العربية المتحدة

Even a brief study of the history of the Press in the U.A.R. directly points out the significant and essential role played by the Press in building up Egypt.

Our Press was able to fulfil its important mission since the time of French occupation during Napoleon's day, and since British occupation of our country beginning from September 14th 1881.

Our Press was born at the beginning of the 18th century in a small country with a famous past, flourishing with a bright civilization that had an enlightened humanity.

Though the possiblities facing her were small and the oppression of the French occupying forces was great, the role of our Press was significant. This was due to the fact that it was serving the people's movement which at that time was spreading all over the country, in the villages as well as in cities, among the people who opposed the foreign occupation, which did not stay longer than three years a period in which Napoleon experienced the worst defeats which probably shocked him more than Waterloo. All his dreams of building an Eastern Empire which would threaten the British Empire in India were smashed to smithereens.

If the role of our Press in that period was rather vague, this was due to the actions of the French troops, who withdrew from Egypt taking with them every thing that could be looted, materially and culturally, including collections of journals of that time.

Mohammad Ali, who was appointed Regent of Egypt by Turkey at the beginning of the 19th century had tried to make the Egyptian Press a forceful instrument to execute his desires and greediness and to record his steps and bubbles. During this period the Press was in a very inferior condition. Mohammad Ali's instructions and threats were the main factors that hindered its development.

SABRY ABOUL MAGD

Al Waqa'i al Misriyah (The Egyptian Events) was the first Egyptian paper to be the spokesman of the government. It was the arena where in Mohammad All spead his evil desires and instructions, but after a short period the paper became very boring due to the increasing governmental formalities and to its habit in publishing lies. It always preached the bright future awaiting Egypt. Later on *Al-Waqa'i* which formerly was a paper intended to publish a special record for the ruler, to further his instructions, orders, laws and personal idiosyu crasies, turned into a political paper to serve the people, thanks to the Egyptian journalists who worked for it cooperatively.

In the reign of Abbas I and Isma'il Pasha the Egyptian Press started to be a forceful instrument for the development of the country's laws. And when the reign of Isma'il ended the Egyptian Press began to play its most historical role.

Jamaluddin Afghani, the philosopher and reformer, Mohammad Abduh, Abdullah Nadim and others were the prominent pressmen who used the Press as an important revolutionary instrument which had special influence in the political sphere. The Egyptian Press was able to make Isma'il I, who spent more than 200 million guinees for the holding of phoney demonstrasions, the building of palaces, the holding of feasts on the occasion of the opening of the Suez Canal where he invited the kings and queens of Europe at festivities which the Eastern world had never before witnessed, tremble. The influence of the Press became stronger and stronger, and not only made the ruler more uneasy and disturbed but also started to create strong opposition against the despot. This opposition opened the path for his overthrow. In this connection we must not forget the role of Jaqub bin Sanu', a journalist who published in Egypt, and later during his exile, in France, a series of matchless satirical publications. When Isma'il was overthrown, his son Toufiq succeeded him to thrown. The newcomer was a very weak personality, full of fear and timidity. In the first

days of his reign he tried to rule the Press which had already gained strength since the reign of Isma'il. He even tried to fill the prisons and detention camps with journalists. More than once he tried to gag the revolutionary journals. All his evil attempts met with bitter failure. Since the national Egyptian Press had contributed much in the fight against the rule of Isma'il and in his overthrow, it is not exaggerating if we state that the Press was the most important element of the 1881 revolution led by an Egyptian peasant Ahmad Arabi.

The papers published in this period were full of revolutionary ideas. The people eagerly read these papers and followed the instruction and sincere opinions that later burst into the Arabi Revolt, a workers and peasants Revolt which opposed the foreign rule of the Turks. Thus the first time a real opposition force against slavery and exploitation were brought to the fore. Abdullah Nadim, a journalist, contributed much to this uprising and he was not only its forerunner journalist but also its number one orator, Every day, during the revolt, he met in public gatherings, in villages as well as in cities or in the country-side where he explained to the masses the direction of the new revolution and its aims to free the Egyptian people from foreign rule.

When the war broke out between Egypt and Britain in 1882 the British mobilised their fleet and army to occupy Egypt after their attack against Alexandria on the 11th of July. From their warships, they set Alexandria on fire. Abdullah Nadim removed the printing office of his journal to the battlefield and his journal was issued directly from the battlefront. Abdullah was not the only journalist who did such a job. There were tens of other Egyptian fighting journalists who did the same.

When the revolution met with failure due to the betrayal of some Sarkis officers as well as to the changing attitude of the Turkish government, which at the beginning stood as the supporter and later as a stubborn opponent and joined the British government in attacking Egypt which made the British occupancy of Egypt possible, the Press was banned and censored. There was no place for freedom of expression. After the Egyptians realised their defeat in the war, a new national movement appeared ten years later. New national papers appeared such as *Al Mu'ayid* (The supporter) which was published by Sheikh Ali Yusuf. On the eve of the 20th century *Al Liwa'* (The Banner) was issued by Mustafa Kamil, leader of the new national movement. New dailies appeared as one after the other was raided and banned.

When the occupying authorities put several journalists in prison, the people were enraged and protested with demonstations the country over. When the journalists were released, the people organised public festivities where they presented popular medals to them as tribute.

History can never forget the first years of occupation during the reign of Khdevi Abbas Helmy who collaborated with the occupying authorities. *Al Qutr al Misry* (The Egyptian Country) which was published by the Egyptian journalists Ahmad Helmy continuously published serious articles urging the expulsion of the ruling Mohammad Ali dynasty. History can never forget that Abdulaziz Jawish editor of *Al Liwa'*-and Mohammad Farid, Chairman of the Nationalist Party, and Ali Al Ghabati, one of the nationalist poets in Egypt, had been sent to prison several times because of their articles which were published in the national journals.

Since the Egyptian Press was the vanguard of the Egyptian Revolution of September 9th 1881 under the leadership of Ahmad Arabi, the Egyptian Press had also become the forerunner of the Egyptian Revolution of March 9th 1919 under the leadership of Sa'ad Zaghlul, and she also marched in the foretront of the Revolution of July 23rd 1952 under the leadership of Gamal Abdul Nasser.

We would write more about the history of that period in another article.

From the first day of July 23rd Revolution, the Press has been part and parcel of the Revolution. The wish and the ideals of the journalists and writers had crystalized and become concrete in form in this genuine people's Revolution. They have been fighting and struggling since the first days of the Revolution in order to more solidly consolidate the bases of the Revolution, followed by the task to extend its power and then to strengthen its popular stand. The pre-July-23rd Press was a formidable weapon against feudal degradation and had helped destroy the bastions of the ruling dynasty such as Farouq and other professional politians as well as against the evil party system and against the Pasha's, landlords and capitalists.

Since the first day of the July 23rd Revolution, the journalists have taken a firm stand with the leader of the Revolution, Gamal Abdul Nasser. They have joined him as his soldiers in several battles. They have joined him in the revolutionary battles against feudalism. They have joined him in the struggle for the expulsion of the British troops who then numbered 70.000 and who were firmly and deeply rooted for more than 70 years in the Egyptian soil. Then they took part together with their leader in the struggle against the Baghdad Pact, a devilish imperialist pact, which was intended to chain the Arab and the Middle East peoples. And full of belief and conviction they entered the fight for the nationalization of the Suez Canal followed by the struggle against the tripartite aggression in October 1956. Under the leadership of Gamal Abdul Nasser they joined in the struggle for unification with Syria in February 1958 followed by the struggle of wrecking the union in September 1961. And under his leadership also they took part in the struggle for national liberation in the Arab world and in Africa, the struggle which the UAR we do not say has shared in but rather has fulfilled its bounden duty. Shortly, Nasser has depended upon the faithful journalists, and all the journalists are convinded of his leadership, they believe in the glory of their fatherland, nationalism Arabism and the cause of world peace. All of them believe in the truthfulness of the struggle waged under the leadership of the U.A.R.

French colonialism in North Africa and British imperialism in the Arab world have admitted through their ministers and writers the active part played by the Arab Press against imperialism in the respective areas. And it is a must for building up socialism by the U.A.R. to let the journalists be within the revolutionary frame which has been drawn up by the revolution itself in July 23rd 1952. As I have stated in my book *Al Bina' al Ishtiraki* (The Socialist Structure) : "It is a must to defend the people's rights who are in fact the possessors of this country; it is a must to defend the youth of the country from degradation which was encouraged by our former Press; it is a must for the Press who has deviated from their straight path to come back to it; it is a must for those who disbelieve in their former ideals to return to them; it is a must for us to clean up our Press and cure our journalists from the deseases that have infected them; it is a must for us to bring news, photos, stories, features and healthy humour back again. The competition between the papers on commercial and sensational reporting must vanish immediately. The interest of the people must replace the interest of the pocket. Our Press must rehabilitate itself so as to have the same believe in the holy mission to elevate the political, cultural, artistic and spiritual consciousness of all the people. The Press and the journalists must free themselves from the influence of advertisements and capital and from exploitation and oppression. The Press must be the Press of the people and reflect the people in all its hope and sorrow. The Press must be a mission and indeed it becomes a mission."

The Press Bil was passed in May 24th 1961. This Bil has been-as stated by *Al Ahram* (The Pyramids)- "the slanting truth". Yes, it is not only a bare truth to regulate the Press and to make it the property of the people but the judicial authority has put — for the first time in its history — The Press in its correct position by placing it on the same level as Parliament. This new position is in fact a tribute to the Press and the Pressmen since the Press has never been regarded before as a body on the same level as Parliament. For the benefit of the future of the Press this Bill has succeeded in ending all the commercial competitions and as stated by Yusuf Seba'i ; "To free the Press from the fear of the power of advertisements and distributing agencies and the will of the advertisers and readers; it was for them and for those who fought for the liberation of the Press that the Bill was passed in order to erase their timidity as well as the

financial threat. So as to make them free and able to write what they want to without any reservation whether it pleases some people or not. The Bill has given them the broadest freedom to write what is useful regardless of any competition with others who write nonsense. The Bill has brought equilibrium in the Press world in such a way so as to permit no commercial competition to deviate the mission of the Press. The Bill has drawn up for the People who believe in the Press as an instructive and directive cultural instrument, which may not be misused for commercial interests, for our future, which step by step must be reinforced, improved and enlarged !"

Ihsan Abdul Quddus, proprietor of the *Rosa al Yusuf* Publising House which was nationalised by the Bill, said : "I have realised before that this bill must be passed because I believe in socialism, and I am convinced that our Revolution is a socialist revolution. My socialist logic has told me about the coming of this Bill".

Gamal Abdul Nasser has issued a Constitution for the Press in which it is stated; "That the Press must be a mission rather than a commodity, because if it becomes a commodity or commercial goods then it will be the same as the Press of certain societies ..... It is the right of the Press to criticise, it is the duty of the Press to do so."

Four years have elapsed since the passing of the Bill which resulted in the big journals becoming the people's property. Other decrees passed, urged the old proprietors of the Press — who were also journalists — to return to their old profession for the interest of the people.

It is mistake for those who regard our Press as followers of executive authority.

It is mistake for those who regard our journalists as noncritical of ministries and ministers. Our Press is everyday full of criticism of the State machinary.

Our Press is the people's property, and through the Socialist Union, the people's representatives supervise these journals but do not interfere in the subject matter written by the journalists ; the journalists only write what their conscience permits them to.

The Press Bill has indeed succeeded in smashing the chains and freeing our journalists and boldly stimulating them to work in building socialism.

Our journalists are assured of old age pensions, and their families are assisted if any mishap occurs to them.

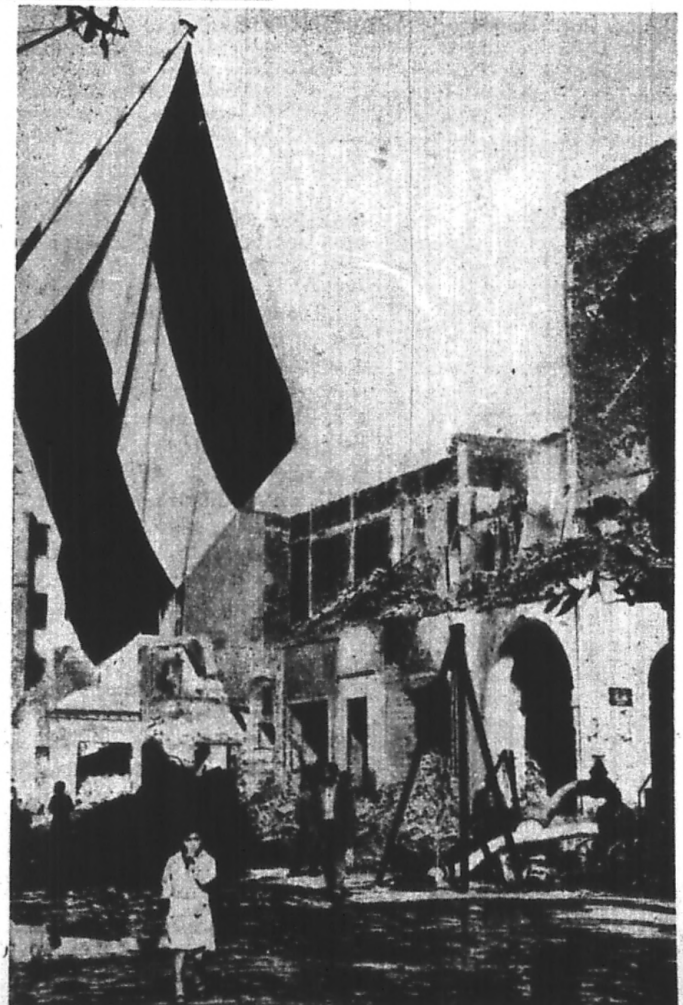
The salary of the journalists are one of the highest in our country, — some even receive more than the President.

In the Journalists Association we represent and work for 1.500 journalists members. The abundant financial interest gained from publications are divided into two halves. One half is distributed among the workers, the administrative staff and the journalists, the other half is to be used in new journalistic projects.

The 1962 financial interest of *Dar al Hilal* (The Crescent Publishing House), for whom I work, had reached unbelievable figures. The bonus of those with less then 50 pound salary in that year was more than four months salary, and that of those with more than 50 pounds salary reached about three months salary.

Our Press and our journalists, in conclusion, are always struggling against imperialism and exploitation and the reactionaries, and they will always win.

More will appear on the U.A.R. press in future editions — ed.



Port Said :

British-French-Israeli aggression lanched on Egypt.

PAKISTAN

and the SECOND

BANDUNG CONFERENCE

In March, 1965 the Second Afro-Asian Heads of States Conference (Second "Bandung" Conference) will take place in Algiers, Algeria. This historic Conference which will undoubtedly be activly participated in by all Afro-Asian Countries, and which will invite the various national liberatory movements in dependent Afro-Asian Countries as observers, is of very great moment, has understandingly attracted the wrath and ire of the Imperialists and Colonialists and Colonialists countries and comes at a very important and pertinent phase in the struggle againt Imperialism and Colonialism and reaction, when Afro-Asia Latin America, the storm centres in this struggle, has greatly heightened its solidarity, vigilance and its fighting potential. Undoubtedly, this Second "Bandung" Conference, the most significant supernal event will take place since the last couple of years, is of immense importance to all Afro-Asian Journalists, indeed to all revolutionary forces the whole world through. No belittling, no jostling, no reactionary militating against, no stupid parochial polemic and atavism that the exclusion of non-Afro-Asian countries will negative the Conference, no opionated lies by either the Imperialists/Colonialists or those supposed to be revolutionaries who have long ago capitulated to our enemy, can and will deflect the revolutionary realistic course the Second "Bandung" Conference will take.

The AAJA has fully — both at the historic Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference and at subsequent AAJA Secretariat Meetings — committed itself to whole-heartedly support and work for the success of the Second "Bandung" Conference. Consequent upon these correct formulations and decisions, the editorial board of "the Afro-Asian Journalist" sent recently to a few Afro-Asian Heads' of State a very pertinent questionaire on the oncoming "Bandung" Conference, asking their considered opinion on various matters relevent to the Conference.

We publish in full below the very pointed and clear sighted reply by Pres. Ayub Khan of Pakistan who so kindly answered to our questionaire. In subsequent editions we hope to carry other replies.

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Editorial Board.

Question. What to your Excellency's viewpoint has been the resultant successes and achievements of the First Bandung Conference held in Bandung Indonesia, April 1955 and attended by 29 Afro-Asian countries ?

Answer. The first Afro-Asian Conference has exerted profound influence on the course of history in the two continents and the rest of the world. The feeling of common destiny created by it has resulted in greater and growing cooperation and understanding among Afro-Asian countries, which have increasingly tended to present a common front at world forums. The Afro-Asian Group at the United Nations is only one manifestation of this new approach. The idea of collaboration had in fact been taking shape for quite some time but it was not until the Bandung Conference that concerted action in political, economic, social and cultural fields was envisaged as a well-defined goal. This is a great achievement by itself. Moreover it was for the first time in history that the two resurgent continents of Asia and Africa agreed to work together on the assumption that their past and future were, more or less, the same, that the material and spiritual resources of their peoples were complementary and that in spite of their material backwardness, they were the repositaries of rich moral and cultural heritage which could provide leadership and guidance to a world plagued by materialism. The conference also forced the pace of liberation with the result that after about 10 years, the number of independent countries in these two continents has more than doubled.

Western powers, who looked upon them so long as mere supplies of raw material and pawns in their game of power politics, have been forced to listen to them with attention and respect. In fact, there has been a radical change in their approach towards dependent countries and they have come to recognise independence as an inalienable and inherent right of every nation.

The conference also made a notable contribution to the relaxation of tensions. Many Asian countries imbued with the new spirit were able to solve their border and other inter-State problems by negotiation.

Question. In what way can the Second Bandung Conference help in consolidating A-A solidarity ?

Answer. There is need to have such conferences at reasonable intervals to take stock of past events and present situations, to consolidate the gains and to chalk out further programme of action in the light of changing and prevailing circumstances. About three dozen countries have since become independent which should be brought round a table with the original Bandung powers to evolve broader unity and to extend and deepen the sphere of cooperation. Luckily, the instinctive sense of unity in the African Continent has triumphed and led to the formation of the Organisation for African Unity. But in Asia it still looks a distant dream. Rather the Asian continent is becoming increasingly riddled with internecine disputes. Kashmir, Laos, Viet-Nam and Malaysia are problems which can at any time blow up peace in Asia and the world. In these circumstances, a Second Afro-Asian Conference can play a positive role. Nobody of course believes that it could solve complicated problems evernight but it can certainly disentangle them by providing a forum for open and frank discussion in an atmosphere free from the interplay of interested world forces. If Afro-Asian unity is a desirable goal as indeed it is, it is essential that these tensions be removed. This can be made possible only through the collective wisdom of Afro-Asian powers who are directly concerned with the good of the region.

Question. In what way can the Second Bandung Conference accelerate the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of A-A peoples ?

Answer. Imperialism and colonialism in its old form have almost vanished. But the old political imperialism seems to be changing places with economic imperialism which is no less dangerous than the first. Moreover, within the Afro-Asian region itself there are countries, who, unmindful of their own colonial past, have set upon a course of expansionism against their small and weaker neighbours with the help of outside powers, some of them with a long colonial past. This has naturally created new tensions in the area.

A Second Afro-Asian Conference is therefore needed not only to plan collective action against the stranglehold of economic imperialism of industrially advanced countries but also to restrain and checkmate expansionist tendencies from within our own fold.

Question. To what extend has the 10 principles of Bandung formulated at the 1st. Bandung Conference and the 5 principles of Co-existence, been a guiding light to relations between Afro-Asian states ?

Answer. The ten principles of the Bandung Declaration which include the five principles of co-existence have to a great extend set the pattern for most of the Afro-Asian countries in the conduct of their foreign relations. A number of these countries have even reaffirmed these or agreed to resolve their international disputes by resort to arbitration or judicial determination, which is one of the cardinal props of the Bandung Declaration.

Pakistan for instance has on more than one occasion proposed mediation and arbitration to India for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute but India has not agreed to it.

These principles in themselves are good but when an erring party refuses to see reason in a dispute with another party, something more effective is required to make it conform to international behaviour. Moreover, respect for justice and international obligations is essential for ensuring peace and stability. If a country were allowed to denounce unilaterally an agreement reached by it of its own free will on the pretext of changed circumstances, there could be no rule of law in international dealings.

Pakistan therefore believes that the five principles of co-existence have value only if nations feel themselves under obligation to honour them.

The Bandung Declaration rightly provides the machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes among Afro-Asian countries and for ensuring peace and stability in the region.

Question. To what extend can the 2nd Bandung Conference help in the economic relations and development between Afro-Asian states, and other states generally ?

Answer. The countries of Asia and Africa are making great efforts to develop their economics but still most of them has not advanced beyond the stage of being a producer of semi-finished goods. As such our problems are more or less the same. We are exporters of raw material or semifinished goods and we need an assured and stable market for these goods. We need capital goods to improve our economy and we need loans at low rate of interest to buy them. The first Afro-Asian Conference took note of the situation and adopted a 12-point declaration for cooperation in the economic field. The Second Afro-Asian Conference can and should assess what has been achieved in that direction and what are the factors which retard the full realisation of those objectives. In this way, the forthcoming conference can lay firmer and more concrete foundations for economic cooperation in the region. Apart from this, certain new developments have taken place in the world economy which intimately affect us. The formation of the European Common Market, the adoption

REPORT FROM MOZAMBIQUE

ATROCIOUS VINDICTIVENESS OF PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM

By Jaime M.A. Khamba

The revolutionary struggle against Portuguese imperialism and colonialism in Mozambique continues with much more determination, as the people are daily engaged in the struggle for the liberation of their fatherland. Each advancement of the struggle by the freedom fighters of Mozambique is met with ruthless suppression and counter-struggle by the Portuguese imperialist bandwagon.

With the aid of their NATO friends, the Portuguese imperialists have perpetuated the most vicious and diabolical atrocities which have become a common-place experience of the people of Mozambique.

Without any regard to the respect of human rights and dignity; without any regard to the present scientific age of civilization and social advancement of the people of the World, which call for political freedom and individual liberty. Salazar and his stool-pigeons, have tried to keep the people of Mozambique perpetually in the dark and subjected them to all forms of inhuman treatment. Kidnapping, arrests, tear-gasing, whipping and other forms of inhuman torture which are yet to find ways into a dictionary, have become the only-food and freedom Salazar has guaranteed the people. Real freedom, freedom of association, of speech, of choice, of worship, of work, are all alien to the people of this territory. No progressive papers are allowed.

To enable them carry out their notorious assignments in Mozambique, the imperialists established training centres in the country, where political secret police and other state apparatuses of coercion are taught how to trace and treat freedom fighters. They also receive instructions in the art of "Ruthlessness and Brutality", in which subjects they must graduate with credit. One of these training centres is situated in Vila Coutinho, about two hundred yards from the Malawi border.

In the year of 1953, during the popular revolt in Mambone a sub-district in the Southern province, the Portuguese henchmen arrested over twenty eight people including Rev. Andrea M. Machawa and Mr. N. Majena, who have since then been languishing in the Lourenco Marques central dungeon.

The arbitrary arrest of the President of the Neucleu Negrofico de Manica e Sofala, Mr. S. Simango and his comrades since 1956, simply because they made a legal representation and protest against the treatment of their people of the Portuguese authority, goes to enhance the injustice the Africans have been shown by these heartless crooks.

During a peaceful demonstration by the people in September 1962 in Lourenco Marques, the Portuguese gestapo opened fired, and as result over thirty people were murdered and two hundred and eight were detained. These detained persons have no hope of any freedom, no hope of seeing their respective families any more.

Far as in July of 1961, during the mass shooting of Angolan people and the Mozambican Nationalists by the Portuguese fascists, Lt. Colonel C. B. Hornung, a British die-hard colonialist and exploiter who owned the Sene Sugar plantation company in Mozambique, revealed in his annual report of that year that his company was playing its part to maintain imperialism in the country. He thus declared "our European employees are vastly outnumbered by Native works and it is only right that we should take steps to protect them against any eventuality, and that is what is being done. Our company will of course shoulder its part of the burden in the support of the policy of the Prime Minister Dr. Salazar, as I was able to assure him when I again had the privileged of discussing the situation with him earlier this year". There his prattle ended and he forgot what his fate would be if the people liberate themselves.

Between March 1962 and March 1963, many officials of the National liberation Movements were arrested or kidnapped. These include kidnappings, in Southern Rhodesia, of the Mozambican Nationalists such as Messrs Samuel Moyana, Gabriel Moyana, Manuel Machawa, Antonio Chigwe, Antonio Sekesi, Jose Ncovane and George Bomba. They were handed over to the Portuguese rascals who did their usual job.

In 1963, many freedom fighters were shot while trying to cross the Mozambique border. These include Mrs S. Mayeneca, Mr. B. F. Muandida and Mr. M. Mumbuca. In December the same year Mr. S. Ali Makaba, the assistant administrative secretary of the Mozambique African National Union, was arrested while finding his way into Tanganyika from where he was running the Party.

The African workers are always arrested or shot whenever they picket for better pay and condition of service. As on the 15th of December 1963, fifteen African labourers were murdered when they protested against the criminal laws imposed upon them by the colonialists.

Portuguese settler brutally murdering a patriot.

AAJA MESSAGE To NON-ALLIGNED SUMMIT

The Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association on behalf of all its members and member associations wishes to extend to all the Heads of States attending the Non-Alligned Summit conference its best wishes and hopes for the succesful Convening of the Second Non-Alligned Summit Conference.

The AAJA has high hopes that the Non-Alligned Summit Conference will play a supernal role in our present struggle againsnt Imperialism, Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism, in the struggle for economic, political and social reconstruction, and in the extension of all and more assistance to the national liberation movements.

Conference meets at a very crucial period in world history. It meets at a time when Imperialism and Colonialism led by the USA has extended and increased its aggressive activities, spreading the flames of war and grossly interfering in the affairs of the Afro-Asia and Latin America countries, the storm centres of the struggle against Imperialism/Colonialism and for the struggle for genuine world peace.

We are convinced that armed with the concept of positive non-allignment Conference will be in the forefront in the struggle to build the world anew. A world where genuine peace will abide, which is only possible when Imperialism/Colonialism is completely eleminated.

In South East Asia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia etc. and with the creation of "Malaysia", in Africa — Congo, in Latin America — Venezuela, Brazil, Cuba etc. — Imperialist aggression and interference is rampart.

All Afro-Asian journalists, indeed all progressive and democratic journalists earnestly look forward to Conference not only taking cognisance of these events but of taking a leading realistic stand foursquaredly on the side of the national liberatory and progressive forces. The eyes of all conscious and revolutionary journalists are focussed on Conference and on its deliberations.

Training in Journalism in People's China

Lo Lieh, Chief of the Journalism Department of the Chinese People's University.

Training in journalism is included in the programme of higher education in the People's Republic of China. Departments or special courses in journalism have been established in institutions of higher learning in Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Nanchang, Nanking, and Sian. But the two main and largest centres in our country are the journalism department of the Chinese People's University in Peking and that of Futan University in Shanghai. They are adequately staffed and equipped.

"Education must serve proletarian politics and must be combined with productive labour" is the general policy for education in China. It requires schools to provide all-round training and to turn out people who are developed morally, intellectually and physically. In the light of this policy, the curricula of the journalism departments and courses include three parts :

1. Political theory, and education through social practice and productive labour. The subjects include : "The history of the Chinese Communist Party", "Political economy", "Philosophy", (mainly dialetical and historical materialism), "Productive labour and social investigation" and "Current affairs and the political situation", etc., These subjects are essential in the training of revolutionaries. Besides being given education in political theory, the students are allowed to spend some time in the countryside or factories to take part in productive labour among the workers or peasants and undertaking investigations and research in actual social life. This helps the students not only to understand theory better and to build up a firm proletarian world outlook, a correct viewpoint on labour and the masses, a view point of revolution and class analysis ; it also helps them to develop the ability to undertake investigations in the depth of the masses and to compile material. This spring a group of students from the journalism department of the Chinese People's University wrote scores of investigation reports when they took part farming in the outskirts of Peking. The average duration of this kind of activity is five weeks a year.

"Current affairs and the political situation" is taught in the form of lectires on special topics. The main contents include current polemic in the communist movement, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the situation concerning the struggle against imperialism waged by the people all over the world, and the internal situation in China and the tasks of the Chinese people. Such lectures are given every month.

2. Education in fudamental subjects. The training of linguistic and writing ability is involved here. The student train by reading and studying Chinese and foreign literary works, both classical and by doing writing exercises. The subjects are : "Chinese classics", "modern Chinese literature", "foreign literature" and "Rudiments of writing" etc.

A foreign language is a compulsory course for all students, who may choose one of several foreign languages. The students are required to be able to read general foreign publications. English, French, Japanese, Russian and Esperanto are taught in the journalism department of the Chinese People's University. We believe that the mastery of foreign languages helps to broaden one's view and understand the world better.

There are also optional subjects for the students, covering a number of other fields. In addition, we encourage self-study and organise lectures to help the students broaden their knowledge.

3. Education in journalistic theory, the history of journalism and journalist techniques. The subjects include : "basic journalistic theory — the nature, task and principles of the working class and people's press ; "the history of Chinese journalism" — the Chinese press in various historical periods and the role of the progressive press in the people's struggle ; "world journalistic history" — the history and present state of the press in the capitalist countries, socialist countries and national independent countries and with emphasis on exposing imperialist attempts to use the press to deceive the people and serve their policies of war and aggression. Special subjects on journalist craftsmanship include "news reporting and news writing", "newspaper editing", "commentary writing", "press photography" etc..

After the students complete most of their subjects they have to spend a whole term working on a newspaper to get practice, directly taking part in reporting or editing. They then return to attend classes in more advanced journalistic theory or lectures on the problems they have encountered in the pratical work. Finally, they devote a certain amount of time to writing a thesis..

Spare-time activity is mainly linked up with the training. The universities encourage the students to arrange talks on various topics, to form voluntary study groups (on literature, film reviewing, current affairs etc.), to run wall newspaper, to make investigation and analysis of newspapers, to undertake recreational and sports activities and to organise visits to various places.

In short, we strive to train students to be, first of all, firm in the revolutionary stand point and at the same time capable in their journalistic work, with wide knowledge and a sound mind in a healthy body.

However a journalism department can only give basic systematic training, provide foundation for the future journalist. The training of a mature journalist involves a comparatively long process of professional practice after graduation.

Training in journalism has been developed with the encouragement of the Chinese Communist Party and government, which have laid down correct policies and tasks and provided the necessary facilities. We who are engaged in the work of training journalists do not have to worry about funds for our training institutions or about employment for our graduates. Our mission is to ensure the healthy growth of the younger generation of journalists and to bring them up as revolutionary successors who will hold high the banner of revolution.

China's press, radio and news agency pay great attention to the training of the revolutionary journalists. They send skilled journalists to teach in the journalism departments of the universities. They also appoint veterans to instruct the students during their practical work.

The teachers and students of our journalism department take great interest in all the political activities of the Afro-Asian Journalists Association and the All China Journalists' Association. They actively support the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism and colonialism. They protest against the persecution of journalists by the reactionary authorities in various countries. They are also concerned with the unity of the progressive journalists of Asian and African countries and their struggles. We teach our students to learn from the staunch revolutionary spirit of the progressive journalists of all countries.

Many young people in our country aspire to do revolutionary journalistic work. Every year the number of applicants for the journalism departments is many times more than can be accepted. Numerous letters come in asking for study material.

In the past decade and more, China has trained more than 2,000 young journalists. They are maturing rapidly under the care of the older journalists, and many of them have already distinguished themselves.

We have also given advanced training to more than 200 journalists from various journals and news offices. An advanced course has now been set up by the journalism department of the Chinese People's University in Peking.

We are still not very experienced in the work of training revolutionary journalists. We are advancing feeling our way forward. We believe that the most important and most fundamental thing is to imbue the trainees who must wield the important weapon of propaganda with boundless loyalty for the revolution and the people, or otherwise we educators will fail in our mission.

WARMEST GREETINGS FROM PRESIDENT MODIBO KEITA TO THE AAJA.

"The people and the journalists of Mali will always be on the side of the AAJA in promoting Afro-Asian solidarity and in the common struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism" President Modibo Keita stated before the AAJA delegation who paid a courtesy call on the Malian Head of State in Bamako Palace September 25, 1964. The Malian President emphasised "That it is the duty of the journalists to correctly inform about the burning issues of today's world situation. In this relation, the AAJA is a good reflexion and has succeeded in making itself well-known for giving such correct information. The AAJA is a force that inspires Afro-Asian solidarity in our common struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism".

President Modibo Keita humbly stated that the Malian people share their small contribution for the struggle for independence and liberation of the Afro-Asian continents. He added that this contribution is given earnestly. Through Joesoef, the head of the delegation, President Modibo Keita expressed his warmest greetings,- also on behalf of the people and the journalists of Mali, to the AAJA and hoped that the Second AAJA Conference will be a great success. The people and the journalists of Mali are always ready to contribute to the AAJA.

The AAJA delegation now visiting on a friendly-visit Africa program consists of Joesoef, Deputy Secretary-General to the AAJA, Yang Yi and Sugiyama.

The Bonn Economic Partnership

with

The Fascist Regime of South Africa

International economic and political sanctions, diplomatic isolation and pressurization. These are very pertinent and important issues facing all South Africans who value freedom and democracy, whether inside or outside their motherland.

To correctly place these tactics in their proper political perspectives vis-a-vis the national liberation struggle in South Africa, is equally if not much more important.

It is absolutely essential that we deliver a stunning blow to suggestions that place so much emphasis on economic and diplomatic sanctions that tend to place it as an **alternative** *to the form of struggle which the people of South Africa have committed themselves too. No other form of struggle can completely change the situation in South Africa except a revolutionary armed struggle. The call by certain S. African elements for the holding of a "national convention" in South Africa to sit down and discuss matters with Verwoerd and others at this very crucial life and death stage of our struggle is an unrealistic call, indeed a dangerous and reactionary call and as such has to be thoroughly exposed and vigorously condemned. Sanctions and boycotts is an addition to the armed struggle in South Africa. It helps weaken the enemy's position, but it is not the alternative. As such we heartily welcome all and any of the efforts to impose economic sanctions on South Africa — especially the decisions of the O.A.U. to impose air and sea boycotts on South Africa. However economic sanctions cannot be of great effect until the Imperialist countries who are the principal trading partners of South Africa seriously consider and put into effect the resolutions of UNO General Assembly — calling for complete economic sanctions.*

These countries, — we must have no illusion about them-will NOT carry out any economic sanctions against South Africa. Their investments are too great. They see in the fascist oppressive system in South Africa, a happy collecting and playing ground for increased profits. Of course they all loudly proclaim their opposition to the discriminatory and Apartheid policies of the Verwoerd Government, but pay only lip service to their loud-mouthed utterances. In fact they go on supporting and strengthening White Supremacy and Baaskap in South Africa in various ways : either through investments or armaments. White South Africa see in them natural allies. Britain and America are the ringleaders in this conspiracy and unholy alliance. But little attention has been paid to the West German regime. Bonn not only goes on supplying South Africa with arms but is increasing its investments in South Africa. The stronghold of Hitler fascism, Bonn recognises in White South Africa a "wonderful" ally. West German newpapers openly support the inhuman Apartheid policies of Verwoerd :

"The Negro race are intruders in all Africa ; they probably came from East Asia in pre-historic times. So South Africa is white man's land .....

"If today under the symbol of democratic parliamentarianism, all inhabitants of the Union were to march to the poll without any colour bar, tomorrow South Africa would have a black government, and the next day a racial Negro government under or concealed communist leadership would destroy the position of the white people." — "Der Stahlhelm" — April, 1960 or in the words of the "Soldaten — Zeitung" — May 1960 :

"If the white man is not to lose his last stronghold apart from Europe and America, the Union of South Africa, in spite of all opposition, will have to continue discreetly to insist on and implement the apartheid policy. If it does not, there is but one alternative left, as Foreign Minister Louw declared, namely the retreat of the whites from South Africa too.

"But that would mean the ultimate loss of the white man's last battle ....."

all this at the very time when 70 Africans were brutally murdered by the South African "authorities" during the historic Sharpeville protests, led by the revolutionary Pan African Congress.

West German President Lubke called the suppression of the African population in South Africa a "model". The then Bonn Foreign Minister Von Brentano would have nothing to do with an appeal issued by the West German Federation of Trade Unions (D.G.B.) in April, 1960 demanding a boycott of South African produts as a protest against treatment of the African population.

How ironic it is that it was a great German, the poet and literator-Goethe, whom the West Germans, among others, have paid homage to in various instances, who said "Racial hatred is a peculiar thing. You always find it at its most violent among the least civilised men".

In the following article an account of the Partnership between Bonn and fascist South Africa is traced. West German capital and investment is daily increasing in South Africa, thus helping to bolster up White Supremacy.

We cannot expect any sympathy from these investing countries. In their choice of support between the national liberation movements and Verwoerd they have made their choice. What our attitude towards them should be is clear. Of that there cannot be any doubt.

LIONEL MORRISON

Amongst the South African white middle class there exists sharp contrasts of interest especially in the Afrikaaners on the one side and those who support British Imperialism on the other side.

They are reflected in the varied political and ideological principles ; especially in their attitude towards the Apartheid policy of the Verwoerd regime which eventually led to the withdrawal of South Africa from the British Commonwealth.

The racialistic organisations of the Afrikaaners have been supported at all times by German Imperialism. This collaboration reached its peak during Hitler Fascism. Then the leaders of the Afrikaans organisations were trained in Germany, (Broederbond, Ossewabrandwag, "Neue Ordnung").

Openly, they agitated against the Union entering the war on the side of the Allies and prepared a Fascist uprising with the aid of the Nazi party and the "5th Column", that was guided by the German general staff.

The economic foundation of the Afrikaner middle class is the real estate that originates from the acquisition of the soil from the Africans.

In 1934, the bank *Volkskas* was founded as a centre of the struggle against the economic predominance of British Imperialism.

Today it disposes of over £70 million investments, has over 180 branches in the Republic and in South West Africa and controls at least 27% of the entire South African economy.

Besides the property owners it is the economic backbone of the Fascist Nationalist party which came into power in 1948. It has on its board parliamentary ministers.

In mining, the Anglo-America Corporation of South Africa Ltd. is leading. British Capitalism is still predominant althrough the *Volskas* group is advancing here.

The pillars of the fascist Verwoerd regime are the extremist section of the Afrikaans middle class, i.e. the farmers, *Volkskas, Saniam* and *Santam*. They stand for the programme of Apartheid (racial segregation.) i.e. the

bloody suppression of the growing national democratic movement, the total expropriation of the African majority of the population, their compulsory rehousing in compounds and the resettling of industries to the outskirts ("Bantustan" Project).

In order to procure white settlements i.e to obtain the fertile parts of the soil the Afrikaner Nationalists plan an eventual division of the country.

Persevering with Apartheid the Afrikaner Nationalists even put up with economic losses such as inadequate supply of cheap labour and a noticable decline in exports in various industries caused by an international boycott.

Most representatives of international capital and a strong minority of the white middle classes are not inclined to put up with the damaging effect on the economy as a consequence of Apartheid on behalf of the interests of the Afrikaner middle class. They believe that a continuation of the present course is bound to cause a tidal wave of mass uprisings and lead to an aggravation of the worldwide economic boycott as well as a political one against the ruling elements of South Africa.

They reject the interruption in the supply of cheap labour by Apartheid. Instead of a split they aim at the expansion of the home market and instead of international isolation they hope for new economic connections with other national democratic countries and are interested in a link between their country and the British Commonwealth.

In accordance with the British neocolonialist policy this part of the white community is prepared to extend certain concessions to the 10 million Africans of South Africa, such as: partaking in limited elections, a housing scheme and better wages. These leading representatives of the international capital as, for example Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the board of the AAC (Anglo American Corporation) and A.J.F. Fergusson, president of the Johannesburg stock exchange, are against the Afrikaner Nationalist racial policy, only as far as its application is concerned.

The fact that the Apartheid followers succeeded, for the time being, led to a decline in foreign, especially British investment. The drop in foreign capital was estimated at £100 million for 1960 and continued to increase in 1961 to the lowest level at the stock exchange since the crisis of 1934 to the diminution of gold reserves from £153 million sterling to £86 million at the end of the same year.

The British Government, bearing in mind the interest of monopoly capital in South Africa, as well as the increased pressure of the opinion of the democratic world has officially denounced the Apartheid policy, but of course still support Verwoerd by feeding him with arms etc.

Divergence of opinion between the ruling circles of South Africa and the "Ready-to-Compromise" (Oppenheimer?) group, prompted the Verwoerd regime to strengthen the contact with forces supporting Apartheid. The West German Imperialists will receive first place — by tradition the ally of South African White extremists.

The Afrikaner Nationalists approve of the plan of West German imperialism to regain a foothold in South Africa (refer to: South African Financial Year Book, publisher R. Beerman, Cape Town). This idea is aided by the Apartheid policy and the Union's withdrawal from the Commonwealth as a consequence of Apartheid, which must lead to a weakening of British competition and open the way for West German expansion.

Return of capital confiscated in the second world war.

During the war, German capital was confiscated in the Union and South West Africa. Through this, competitors of West German capital gained numerous economic positions formerly in German possession.
(Approx. 70% of South West African capital was owned by Germans before the war.)

The Otavi Mining and Railway Co. lost their plants (mines and 239000 hec-acres of estate in South West Africa) which dated back to the former German colonial possessions. Eventually, they were auctioned in Pretoria by the "Administration of Enemy Capital".

The nucleus of the Otavi Co., the mines of Tsumeb went to the Tsumeb corporation founded in 1946, whose shares are owned by the American "Newmont Mining Corp." and the "American Metal Climax Inc." Morgan goup.

Since 1948, when the Afrikaner National Party came to power the capital of German nationals taking residence in South or South West Africa has been released. By this action the extreme wing of the White middle class that backs the National Party secured not only the support of Apartheid by the approximately 200.000 strong German population but also for the unlawful annexation of South West Africa by the Union.

This step contributed to the amalgamation of financiers of German origin with the circles of the white middle classes, especially with financiers of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party.

But the beginning of 1954 still showed £5 milion of confiscated German capital managed by the "Custodian" of the Union. The Otavi Co., estimated its still frozen assets at £1.5 million. Meanwhile the government of the Union obliged the West German monopoly of enterprises. It has put at the disposal of the Otavi Co. a loan of £699,000 interest free for investments in the Union which equals a release of frozen capital of the same amount.

A final decision regarding the use of the still frozen assets has not yet been made. The government of the Union declares that "it will not claim anything of the confiscated capital". The German capitalists take this to be an encouragement to press for the complete release of all pre-war capital.

Size and Relation of the Export of Capital.

The existing favourable conditions in South Africa for investment profit and transfer of capital, prompted numerous German concerns, banking houses and large contractors to export once more, capital to South Africa.

Statistics published by the Bonn Board of Trade, show that investments in Africa on 31.12.1960 run up to 179.9 million Mark or 6.1% of the total "private" investments of West Germans abroad. Corresponding information in West German grade publications declare South Africa the leading place for investment over all other countries. In April 1960 Luebke talked of 77 million Mark of West German investments not including the 50 million Mark loaned by the *Deutsche Bank* to the *Anglo American Corporation*. More precise is the following statement: The total amount of German capital though not exclusively originating from the Federal Republic — is believed to be approx. 300 million D.M. as some well informed sources state.

The "Statistics of the Union" estimates the investments on 31.12.1956 at £5.6 million, which corresponds with official West German announcements. The South African statistics show at the same time that invested German capital with 0.4% against Britain's 62%, 12.3% of the U.S.A. and 5.3% of France — is still only at a low level. From the developments of the investments of the other "OEEC" countries (without Gr. Britain, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Switzerland) at £42.6 million in 1956 to £53.2 million in 1959, it can be concluded that during this period the situation has changed a great deal in favour of West Germany.

The following examples of the investment of German capital and the methods applied will show clearly that only a part of them can accurately be included in the statistics.

Apart from the fact that some investors are inclined to disguise their actions a considerable part of export capital is channelled through other countries; they would appear to be of British, Swiss or French origin. Other West German capital especially German pre-war investments today managed by agents resident in South Africa and capital of South African citizens of German origin, are no longer looked upon as foreign capital.

It is to be noted that the expansion of West German capital to South Africa is carried out in two directions. Investments in mining are on the whole conforming with other groups of international financiers whereas the majority of other investments maintain close partnership with the capital of South Africans of German origin and the Afrikaner bourgeosie. This difference is of importance because of the diverse political ideologies of the two groups.

The Deutsche Bank goup in Mining.

Since 1954 the group "Deutsche Bank" has succeeded in assisting the Otavi Co. by incorporating fresh mining projects. Today subsidiary companies of Otavi process caoline, clay, chamotte, platinum and spar.

In 1958 the "Deutsche Bank" also succeeded in a long attempted entry in the leading South African mining concern, the "Anglo-American Corp". (AAC). In Sept. 1958 H.J. Abs and H.F. Oppenheimer signed a contract in Frankfurt for the grant of a loan of 50 million Mark.

This transaction caused the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" on 12.9.1958 to make the following statement:

"The investing public in Germany becomes the business partner of an enterprise of nearly 100 companies in South Africa, South West Africa, N. and S. Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Swaziland and East Africa."

The "Deutsche Bank" at the same time achieved the repeal of the boycott carried out for over 25 years by the London Diamond Syndicate against West German diamond cutters which in the beginning for political reasons and later on for reasons of economic competition.

Joint Combines of Interest-Zoellner — Berlin Trade Company — Flick.

Other West German interests in South African mining are held by the German colonialist *Friedrich Albert Zoellner* who already represented German companies before 1945 in South and S.W. Africa. In December, 1953, he had the Africa-Mining.

Dr. F.A. Zoellner — before 1945, acting in Berlin — registered in Cologne as "Limited Co." with a 1.5 mill. Mark capital (Trade register Duesseldorf Nr. 7, 18th Jan. 1954, managing director Solicitor Dr. Hermann Reinbathe, formerly member of the pre-war Ministry of Economy).

He himself took residence in Johannesburg hereby regaining a considerable part of his capital formerly held in South Africa.

Amongst other commitments. Zoellner is chairman of the Alpha Free State Holdings Ltd., Johannesburg, a Holding Co. with an original capital of £500,000. Above all it had at its disposal shares of Dunswart Iron and Steel Works Ltd., of Hartebeestfontein Gold Mining Co. Ltd., and the Montrose Exploration Co. Ltd., also of farming land and rights of mine prospecting in S.W. Africa. Hartebeestfontein (capital £4.5 mill.) took over a plant for processing uranium with a monthly output of 100.000 tons. Montrose own various subsidiary companies primarily concerned with the recovery of ore.

Apart from his own considerable colonial capital Zoellner also represents the interests of *Berliner Handelsgesellschaft*, W. Berlin and Frankfurt, which also owns 25% of the share — capital of the *Compagnie d'Outremer pour l'Industrie et la Finance Brussels*, which again holds 15,000 shares of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. (Diamond Monopoly).

The *Berliner handelsgesellschaft* is — amongst others — tied with AEG, and Schering. This explains Zoellner's directorship of AEG. S.A. (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg, and that Hermann Olthaver — next to Zoellner is on the board of Goldfields Industrial Corp. Ltd. and has taken over the management of Schering (S.A.) Ltd.

Zoellner also maintains close connections with the Flick — concern. In 1954 Flick acquired the majority of the Dunswart Iron and Steel Ltd. (Iron and steel production at Dunswart near Benoni, S.A.). The company whose board Zoellner had already joined, decided at the time on an investment programme of £1.25. mill., the original capital of £300,000 was increased to £750,000 whose compensating shares were in the main taken over by Flick. The presidency of the Dunswart Works is today carried out by Otto-Ernst Flick and Zoellner, also on the board is Friedrich Flick.

Expansion of the West German Car Concerns.

In the manufacturing industry West Geman car firms have already obtained a prominent position. Henschel Ltd., Kassel, Daimler — Benz A.G., Stuttgart, and Auto Union Ltd., Ingolstadt (Flick), Neckar Automilwerk A.G. Helbronn (formerly NSU Automobil K.G. — Fiat Concern) Borgward Ltd., Bremen and others have taken part — manufacturing and assembly through S.A. subsidiary companies. The Volkswagen Werk, A.G. Wolfsburg has made rapid progress. In 1951 South African Motor Assemblers and Distributor SAMAD Ltd., at Ultenhage (Eastern Cape) took on the assembling and distributing of VW products. In 1956 the capital of the concern that up to that time assembled Studebaker and Austin cars was increased from £300,000 to £500,000 the majority taken over by Volkswagon of America Ltd. (100% owned by V.W. Wolfsburg). In the chair is Baron Detlev von Oertzen, formerly on the board of Wanderer Werke and partner — founder of Auto-Union (Flick Group). Today he is deputy for VW Works for the whole of S.A. and the Far East. Besides Heinrich Nordhoff and O.W. Jensen of the VW Works, representatives of the native capital are on the board, amongst others Martinus Smuts Louw, director of Volkskas Ltd.

The close collaboration of the VW Works with the Volkskas Group and the termination of the distribution of Austin products (Brit. capital) through SAMAD in 1955/56 explains the refusal of the Brit. capital financed insurance companies to take over the insurance protection of the VW drivers. Therefore the VW AG. formed their own insurance co., the "VW Insurance Services (Pty) Ltd." Assembled VW cars by SAMAD in :

1954 = 704
1957 = 4402
1959 = 13668.

Today Daimler — Benz controls the American Studebaker-Packard Corp. (Flick).

Further ties with Volskas and with the exponents of the S.A. racial Policy.

In contrast to the AEG concern which prefers a collaboration with the circles of international finance *Siemens* shows a distinct leaning towards the Volskas group.

Director of the S.A. distribution and engineering enterprises, Siemens, S.A. (Pty.) Ltd., Johannesburg, is William Bedford Goetzen who represents most of the Holding companies belonging to Volkskas as a director or board member.

In the case of Labour Construction Ltd., Johannesburg, a direct representation of interest of West German capital by leading personalities of the S.A. government can be proven.

Labour Construction Ltd., is the combined establishment of three W. German building contractors: Muller & Co, Surface and Underground Building Ltd, Esseen; Arthur Simon, Building Contractors Ltd., Cologne; J. Gollnow & Son, Karlsruhe.

The company (W. German capital £250,000) is primarily engaged in building railways. The management is in the hands of the S.A. Minister of Economics, Nicholas Diederichs.

Statistically intangible influence of W. German capital.

The preference shown by W. German concerns for the S.A. White middle class of German origin strengthened the influence of W. German economy far above the proportions given in any tables.

A classic example of the penetration of W. German capital in S.A. and its merging with native capital of German origin can be found in the S.W. African Trust Metje & Ziegles Ltd. The firm was founded in 1906 in Windhoek in its present name and with German colonial status.

It has at its disposal an original capital of £600,000 and practically controls the trade in S.W. Africa.

A subsidiary company builds tractors and motors and takes on engineering projects, and represents the Siemens concern in S.W. Africa. In the chair of Metje and Ziegler is E.A. Behnsen, one of the most influencial shareholders and directors of breweries, canning and fish-canneries, also director of Ohlthaver & List Trust Co., which is linked with Schering. Directors of M & Z are: M.S. Louw (affiliated with VW and Volkskas) Paul Roy Roerich, director of the S.A. branch of Neusser Screw Factories, Bauer & Schaurte and many enterprises of the Volkskas group; R.P. Froehlich, partner of many industrial enterprises of S.A. capitalists of German origin and together with Ohlthaver, director of the S.W. African Karakul Sentrale 1928 (Pty.) Ltd., (German farming interrests) D.D. Forsyth, former foreign secretary of the Union, today director of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. (Diamond monopoly of AAC group, partner of Deutsche Bank).

EXPORT.

The close relationship of the W. German capital with S.A. capitalists of German and Afrikaans origin forged a strong entry into the S.A. Market. W. Germany's share of import into the Union increased by 6% between the years 1952-56 during which period Gt. Britain's part dropped by the same amount. Today the Union ranks third in W. Germany's export to overseas countries after the USA and India.

The trade balance shows a considerable surplus in W. Germany. By 1960 the balance reached £38.6 mill. more than double that of the S.A. export to W. Germany, which reached £17 mill.

The West German concerns were engaged in substantial deliveries to all important state building programmes.

The dilemna of the W. German imperialists.

The driving forces for the activity of W. German monopoly in S.A. aim at colonial profits, new export markets and fresh raw material sources. The W. German monopoly speculates on easier conditions for infiltration after the Union's withdrawal from the Commonwealth. In 1960 Nicholas Diederichs, S.A. Minister of Economy and Trade declared already at a conference in Bonn with Adenauer and Ehrhardt: For S.A. the collaboration with the European Trade Community is of extreme importance since S.A.'s withdrawal from the Commonwealth."

He announced his intention to interest more W. German industrial-concerns in setting up branches in S.A.

For reasons for their own success and profit the W. German capitalists welcome the good relationsip with the enterprises of the extreme wing of the S.A. White middle class of German origin in S.A. Wolf Radman, managing director of the German-S.A. board of trade, Johannesburg' declared: "Apart from political problems which no country of the world can escape and which are no more complicated in S.A. than in most other countries, S.A. offers very attractive possibilities for investments. The government system is a stable one, the administration is lawful, the financial system is familiar — where else on the African continent could similar favourable opportunities be found ?"

This attitude of an authoritarian body of W. German economy in S.A. shows a distinct contrast to the already outlined trend of the majority of the White middle class.

The extraordinary strategic importance of S.A. plays a significant part in W. German projects and plans for the acquisition of industries and sources of raw materials in the Union.

A branch of the Henchel — Werk, Johannesburg, is already engaged in the production for the all white S.A. army.

Leading W. German militarists would like to see the formation of SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organisation) which would be co-ordinated with NATO and SEATO and embrace the Portuguese colonies and British Protectorates in Southern Africa, which would serve to halt the national freedom movement of the peoples.

A well-known authority of W. German SATO propaganda is the former defence chief of Rommel's staff, Major-General F.W. von Mellenthin today occupies a leading position with W. German Lufthansa, Cologne. Similar demands are made by the NATO publication "Revue Militaire," issued by NATO generals Speidel and Heusinger.

Numerous organisations and unions of the incorrigible German Fascists, militarists and colonialists attempt in conjunction with the S.A. Whites to win over the W. German public for the Apartheid ideology and to misuse the German minority in S.A. for their neocolonialistic aims.

The Bonn Government has revealed its attitude clearly by friendly gestures to the Verwoerd Regime, by refusing to assist in the international commercial boycott of S.A. products; by tolerating the annexation of S.W. Africa by the Union; by encouraging the emmigration of W. German citizens to S.A.: from political angles; and through supporting S. Africans of German origin to act as coalition partners to the Nationalist Party. Under the pressure of the anti-imperialist liberatory movement of the peoples, W. German imperialism faces an insoluble problem. According to its nature and inclinations it urges for an unconditional merger with the Fascist forces of S.A. and already today it must take into account the change of forces in S.A. in favour of the majority of the S.A. population.

It has to be noted that the W. German holdings despite favourable profits and tranfer conditions for investment show some restraint in relationship to other countries, especially Latin America, following an American-French Group, 2 W. German banking houses have appeared as buyers for S.A. securities disposed of by British shareholders. The Bonn government is forced to disguise its sympathy with Apartheid and the attitude of W. German imperialism-influenced by various considerations and cannot be termed as unanimous. On the whole, the W. German-S African relationship — however different it appears in its various ways, must lead to the conclusion that W. German imperialism is prepared to take on the role of a principal ally of the S.A. racial policy and accept the risks connected with it. And risks there surely are !

Colleague Mamoudou Gologo, Secretary to the AAJA Secretariat, and President of the Mali Journalists' Association has just been appointed Minister of Information and Tourism. Colleague Gologo was Secretary of State for Information before. In a cable of Congratulations the AAJA stressed that the close ties between the Malian Journalists and the AAJA will continue.

IMPERIALISTS QUIT ASIA

— call by Ceylon Journalists

A vastly attended public meeting, sponsored by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Ceylon, was recently held in Colombo, Ceylon, to express solidarity of the people of Ceylon with the people of South Vietnam, Laos and other South East Asian countries in their struggles against the imperialists, particularly American imperialists, for freedom and peace.

The following resolution of the Ceylon Journalists' Association was read at this meeting.

"The Ceylon Journalists' Association vehemently condemn all manoeuvres of the imperialists, particularly American imperialist, to convert South East-Asia into a battlefield in order to regain their fast diminishing domination in this region. That they are resorting to every vicious and dirty attempt to achieve this purpose is clear from their recent acts such as the open violation of the Geneva Agreement, suppression of the liberties of the South Vietnamese people, robbing their right to choose their destiny and preventing them from re-uniting with their brethren in the northern part of their motherland.

"The Ceylon Journalists' Association condemns in no uncertain terms the shameless intervention of the American imperialists in the internal affairs of Laos, paralysing her neutral Government and setting up a puppet regime to stooge for them, thereby sabotaging and retarding the progress and forward march of that country.

"The Ceylon Journalists' Association opposes and condemns the creation of the so-called Malaysia, which is nothing but a military base set up by the British imperialists with the assistance of the American imperialists to direct their attacks on the people fighting for independence and sovereignty. It is the last fortress propped up by the British and U.S. imperialists to defend their fading power in South East Asia. Our Association salutes the heroic people of Indonesia for their firm determination to crush this latest venture of the imperialists.

"The Ceylon Journalists' Association, while condemning the brutal, criminal and repressive measure adoted to thwart the struggles of patriotic people of South Korea to re-unite with their own people in North Korea and achieve peace, progress and prosperity for their country as a whole, salutes the Korean patriotic people for their heroic struggles.

"We ask the imperialists to get out of Asia, leaving Asia for Asians.

"We say it firmly that the imperialists have no right, whatsoever, to supress the freedom struggle of any country and to sabotage its forward march.

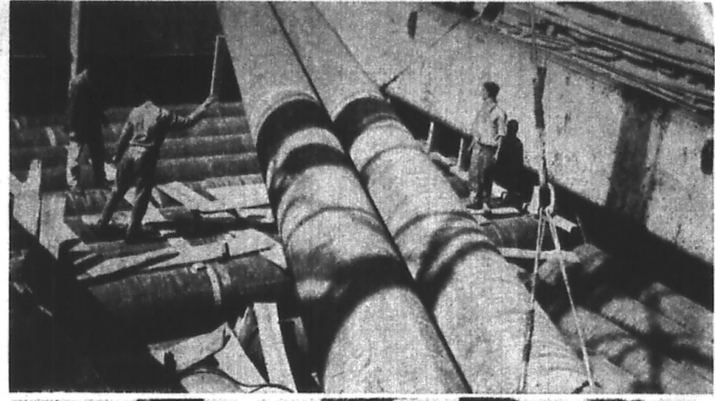
"The Ceylon Journalists' Association extends its solidarity and fullest support to all peoples, including journalists, writers and artists, led by workers and peasants, who are fighting for independence, peace, progress and prosperity'.

FRENCH COLONIALISTS' ATROCITIES.....

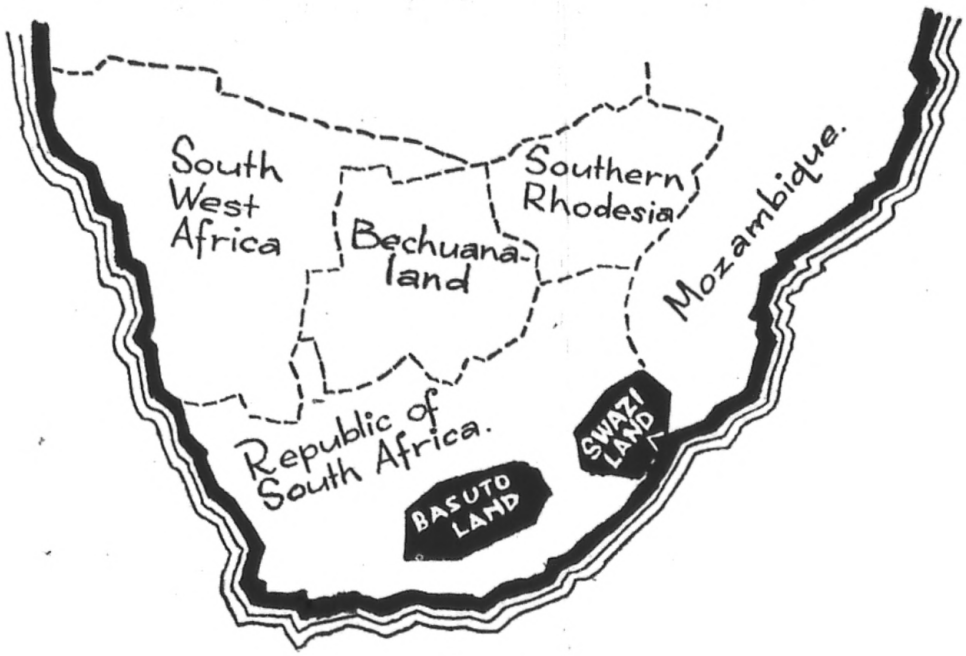
ALGERIANS STRIKING BACK....

ALGERIA

NEITHER THE FRENCH "MIGHT"
NOR ITS NATO ALLIES
COULD STOP THE MARCH
OF A PEOPLE DETERMINED
TO BE FREE



FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE and RECONSTRUCTION...



"THE HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES"

Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland or the "High Commission territories" or "Protectorates" as they are referred to by the British colonialists, undoubtedly are the only territories enjoying the distinction of doubly being an archiles heel.

Their strategic geographic position inside and bordering the land of Apartheid and White Supremacy (South Africa) has in turn annoyed, brought forth threats, and resulted in barbed wire enclosures and road block pillar boxes being constructed along the borders, by the Verwoerd hierarchy. "We will not tolerate subversive footholds within our midst" threatened Verwoerd, "The protectorates are part of South Africa and natural areas for Bantustans", Afrikaner Nationalists yearly with honorific regularity proclaim in their racial Congresses.

Here in these territories you find the weak-link in the Verwoerdian attempts to insulate and isolate South Africa from the main stream of world events; from the turbulent fast changing Africa, from the storm centres of world contradictions — Africa, Asia and Latin America. Here indeed is the archiles heel in the "mighty" structure of the Southern African Apartheid schema of things.

In their advance to independence — genuine independence, not the fraudulent Bantustan structures of Verwoerd — these territories represent the complete opposite from present day South Africa. They are not only a thorn in the side of Verwoerd and White Supremacy, but to the millions of oppressed Africans in South Africa, they are areas where a whiff of free air can be inhaled luxuriously. They serve as escape corriders, asylum rendezvous and political centres for revolutionaries from the hinterland of Apartheid. The headquarters of the Secretary-General of the Peoples Movement — the Pan African Congress — is to be located there. So are others.

It is also in these territories where an apparent contradiction between Verwoerd, White Supremacy and the British Colonialists arise. Verwoerd wants to incorporate these territories. The British government wriggles and refuse. However, not because it opposes Verwoerd, or supports the freedom demands of the African peoples. So great have the freedom demands swelled, so popular have the national liberation movement in these areas become, so consolidated have Afro-Asian solidarity grown, so favourable has the liberation struggle of the Afro-Asian Latin America peoples waxed, that British Colonialism has had to retreat and accede, albeit slowly, and with great wiliness and cunning, to the peoples' demands.

Cunning and wiliness indeed are mild words to describe the attitude of the British colonialists. For nearly a century have the British "protectors" of these territories thoroughly and with diabolical and parabolic intent exploited these areas, refused to develop them economically and tried to stifle and keep in harness and cold storage the demands for complete independence and freedom. Their hidden intents — now and then bursting through these hidden seams in promises of acceding to the incorporation demands of White South Africa or in dilatory half attempts in rebuffing these demands — have all along been the hope of gracefully and finally, like Pontius Pilate, washing their hands of the "protectorates" by agreeing gradually to the incorporation demands of White Supremacy by perpetuating conditions of poverty, underdevelopment and dependence of the "protectorates" on White South Africa. But too late have they tried to steer a course between the Scylla of White South Africa's demands for incorporation and the Charydbis of the peoples' demands for independence and freedom. This goes for both the Conservative and Labour Governments in Britain. But too late. For although the peoples struggles in these areas have here and there met setbacks — now having to fight the reactionary tribalists, now having to struggle against the Whites and their allies, now having to stand face to face against the Gordon Highlanders (British troops based in Kenya — but with great ease flown to Swaziland to suppress the peoples' strike) —, their spirit and urge for freedom and independence has remained undaunted. Like the giant in the fable, freedom regains new spirit and strength after every fall. Here, indeed, is the weak-link, the archiles heel in British colonial policy in Southern Africa.

Leading the march to independence and freedom in Basutoland, The Basutoland Congress Party under the leadership of Ntsu Mokhele in trampling underfoot the tribalists, the supposed to be socialists and hypocrite revolutionaries, is a fine example of a party in being. Slowly but surely they are replacing the decay at the top by a new, stronger life from below. Leaders like Dr. Zwane and Dhlamini in Swaziland will soon, rather than later, similarly lead Swaziland to Independence and Freedom. The stumbling blocks are great, but an unswerving faith in the strength of the people, the correctness of their stand, their solidarity with Afro-Asia, will soon, yes soon, place them too on the map of free Africa. The stakes are high, the impediments great, the issues clear, but victory's theirs.

Such is the inevitable truth of history. Such is the inevitable destiny of the "protectorates".

Editorial Board.

I

SWAZILAND TODAY

by Arthur Koza

Six decades have seen Swaziland, languishing voiceless under the yoke of imperialism and colonialism. Untold injustice has been visited upon people who have an inalienable right to self-determination. The indigenous oppressed people in Swaziland have for the last sixty years had to reluctantly accept the status of second-class citizenship in their own land, the lion's share having been grabbed by the fortune-seeking imperialist. As second-class citizens, they have had no "right" to participate in the formulation and promulgation of their country's laws whereby their land has been cold-bloodedly partitioned and pilfered, their rights reduced to insignificance, and their, dignity flagrantly disregarded. They have had willy — nilly to "recognise" an alien minority government which has never pretended to express the interests and defend the rights of the majority African people — a clear negation of all democratic principles and processes. But as history has always generously demonstrated, human beings cannot be fooled perpetually. And this applies to the colonial and subject people of this "British Protectorate" for they are not based outside the history of humanity. The entire country is now incontestably caught up in the continent-wide anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist African revolution.

Imperialism and colonialism have assumed new dimensions in Swaziland today. The liberation movement of Ngwane is now up against doubled forces which are calculated to oppress the struggling masses eternally. British imperialism is being reinforced by obnoxious apartheid forces marshalled by Pretoria. Dr. Verwoerd, having failed miserably to incorporate the country otherwise, today wants to get it through manipulation of the traditional authority. This having been achieved, he can claim that the whole nation endorses and admires his God-forsaken, immoral laws and policies. Out of Swaziland, he desperately wants to create another Transkei with the Ingwe-nyama as a second Matanzima. To this end Mr. Van Wyk de Vries, the Verwoerdian legal adviser to King Sobhuza II who is also a member of the Broederbond has advised "The time of the proclamation of the constitution is the right time for Ngwenyama to launch his political party making full use of the degrading agreement which the secretary required him to sign and protesting against the constitution."

It will surprise all but Dr. Verwoerd that the Ingwenyama, a born king, has allowed himself to be so misused. He has heeded all the warnings like an obedient servant. He has launched his party already, the Imbokodvo Party. Even at this moment, all conscious efforts are being made to stifle the N.N.L.C. and other politicals in the country. At any meeting organised by the Swazi National Council politicals are denied the liberty to speak. Conclusive evidence of all the traditionalist subversive activity was manifest in the terrorism which was the constant companion of the past electioneering campaigns in the Swazi areas so-called. Such events can but be ominous. They are a pointer to the undisguised evil which accompanies the Boer machinations and to the disaster that would ensue. On the alliance between the traditional authority and the Republic of South Africa, the N.N.L.C. has constantly urged the king to stop dabbling in party politics as his, is to remain a symbol of national unity and that in the circumstances, he would be wise to accept constitutional monarchy.

It was on the 24th May, 1964 that some 500 members of the N.N.L.C. satisfied that the organisation's warnings were apparently falling on deaf-ears marched, under the leadership of Dr. Ambrose P. Zwane, to Lobamba to present a memorandum on the political situation. Needless to say the king was maliciously fortified against his own people. In this memorandum, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress stated in no uncertain terms that, inter-alia :

(a) The Swazi National Council was by definition an institution which could not either directly or indirectly transform into a political party without effecting national disunity,

(b) the king's formation of a party was a direct challenge to the Royalty as the death of the party he leads would spell the down-fall and doom of kingship,

(c) Swaziland should voluntarily change into a democratic independent state,

(d) fundamental rights of citizens must under no circumstances be muzzled.

It now appears that all this well-meaning advice has been unfortunately ignored. This is a tragedy.

On January 19, 1964 a referendum was held in Swaziland superficially meant to support the most retrogressive king's petition which sought creation of a racial federation in the country — in fact a separate development scheme. This petition had been sent to the House of Commons in London when the plebiscite was held. Needless to stress that only a handful of persons knew the contents and intensions of the petition. Analysis of this document cannot be undertaken now; but one outright contradition lies in the point raised on the franchise. The petition claimed that a popular vote was at war with Swazi tradition. But Sunday, January 19, saw those who participated, exercise one man, one vote however perverted the principle was. Here again the N.N.L.C. firmly maintained that and categorically declared that the plebiscite was both ambiguous and chaotic. Threats were used to induce people to vote the "Lion" which symbolised the king. One significant point about the referendum is that although it failed to impress Britain it succeeded in preparing the minds of the loyal subjects of the Ingwenyama for his Imbokodvo Party. What is even more disturbing about this plebiscite is that it was a joint-venture with the Boer settler element which owns most of the unpurchased land. So that even if the Imbokodvo Party — which questionably enjoys the support of the United Swaziland Association would claim a majority, the truth of the matter is that it is loyalty of the masses which is being belligerantly exploited for the benefit of a handful of capitalists. There can be no doubt that the farmers who rally behind the king, do so in the hope that they will retain "their" land if he formed the first African government and that they will not be bound to owe all allegiance to King Sobhuza II in a Bantustan. Whether these hopes will ever be fulfilled, history alone will tell. All that may be said now is that if by miracle the king's party formed government, tribalism, raciasm, apartheid, the like, would be the order of the day. It also goes without saying that such a state would not be accommodated in modern Africa.

Now to Britain. It is common knowledge that the past history of the British has been that of ruthlessly imposing their will on other people and crushing them under their heel for nothing other than self-protection. Hence Swaziland is even now protected against freedom and the will of the British is done. The leader of the N.N.L.C. Dr. A. P. Zwane together with the Secretary General Mr. C. D. Dlamini unequivocally told the colonial Secretary in London by the end of 1962 that the only solution to the country's problem was a constitution based on one-man one vote with an African majority in the Legislative Council. Britain, however, in order to safeguard her own interests in Swaziland, underrated this representation and imposed a nasty one man three or four votes constitution which is the genesis of all the conflict and anxiety now excruciating the territory. This constitution which became law on January 3, 1964 seeks nothing more than political entrenchment of the white settler minority. It is bad. The N.N.L.C. has never accepted this constitution. But to hasten the independence day, the movement decided to participate in the first ever general election in order to fight for the abolition of this wicked framework within six months. When rejection of this constitution was expressed by a demonstration in June last year, the President, Dr. Ambrose Phesheya Zwane as well as virtually his whole executive committee was incarcerated by arrest and detention under the guise that he was inciting the masses. This act of the British was illegal. His only crime was that he is the champion of the African cause. That was not the end. Armed British soldiers were flown from Kenya to Swaziland on the 12th June to persecute unarmed victims of imperialism. Perhaps this was an exhibition of British justice. Batallions of the Gordon Highlanders and the Loyals have now left the country but the York and Lancaster batallion is still actively garrisoning. The reason for their retention is not far to seek. Britain believed that their presence in the country, her imposed Constitution would have every implementation chance. This is so. But where lies justice in thwarting genuine strides of oppressed people ?

About the 3rd June the Queen's Commissioner, Mr. Francis Alfred Loyd received representations from the N.N.L.C. and other political parties on the potential dangers and implications of the constitution vis-a-vis the climate of the election eve. This British servant would not entertain these representations. A memorandum on the points raised with Mr. Loyd, was sent to the Colonial Secretary for prompt consideration.

It is true that it has hitherto not pleased him to respond. Whatever his intensions are, we are determined to bang the ear drums of the British until we achieve independence.

In the Legislative Council which begins functioning in a month's time, it is clear that the king will have a majority, considering that British generosity entitled him to eight seats apart from those that he has obtained on the National roll and those that have been won by the United Swaziland Association-Verwoerd's sinister wing. And one thing the king is determined to do is demanding immediate independence so he can become king of a Bantustan.

The solemn question which has to be answered now is simply; Will Britain, notwithstanding the conclusive evidence against the act, grant independence to such irresponsible, provincial and tribalistic terrorists ? It seems that a positive answer to this question would be an accursed foundation to a theatre of war.

II

Basutoland — peeping into the future

by T.Tsolo

After ninety-six years of torture and misery, Basutoland has at last shakened and cracked the walls of colonialism. Through thick and thin the country fought in order to establish and project the concept of African nationalism.

The Basutoland Congress Party, which is the only organ, eyes and ears of Basutoland kept on fighting relentlessly to change completely the status quo. As it is known how atrocious and treacherous imperialists are, the Party under the leadership of fiery and sagacious Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, stood firm against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

After the constitutional conference in London which led to agreement to internal government this year — 1964 — in preparation for complete independence twelve months thereafter, the Basotho pleded their solidarity behind B.C.P.

In keeping abreast with the continental process of decolonisation, the nationalist leaders in the country have declared that they will never rest until the ideal of United States of Africa has been established. The realisation, that the imperialists are at work with their venomous motive, is a motivating factor for projection of African personality.

The colonialist orientated politicians were trying with their ubiquitous manipulation, to stem this tide of liberation but they were blown off the balance into oblivion. The neocolonialist agents run helter-skelter when the liberatory cloud thunders. These wicked executors of an ideology detrimental to African nationalism, were on the run day in and out with the youth chasing them and ready to exterminate the ill-spirit haboured by these traitors.

When the colonialist orientated clique moved out with a misconception that the Africans in Basutoland were still dormant and oblivious of the continental concept of nationalism they found themselves clashing with most powerful force of African nationalism. Some of them were already committing suicide by shooting and alighting from the cars in motion.

The idea of independence in Basutoland has become an established fact : it is therefore significant to look ahead for more work which will determine our stability. To build a nation and obtain political independence from colonial rule as a necessary prerequisite for establishing new and progressive communities, needs thorough dedication to duty.

Basutoland economy.

Agriculture has been extremely poor due to the fact that British Imperialists did not want to develop the country but make it impossible for Africans to live in. There were many White so called agriculturists who were not bothering even to know whether Africans were ploughing or not : Agriculture as a main source of economy, imperialists waged a temendous war against the developments and improvements of this important part of economy. There is wool which again is very important if improved. Before 1833 Africans had plenty of sheep. These sheep were producing sufficient wool in which case the people could be able to maintain and satisfy their wants. The imperialist introduced a system that they knew would exterminate this lucrative way of living. They decided that the Africans should have their sheep dipped with an ultro motive that they will eventually die so that Africans should remain destitute.

The wealth of this country got in the hands of the colonialists from 1834 hitherto.

Minerals

It has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt that Basutoland is one of the richest countries in the world. We have gold, diamond, iron, coal and Manganese. Because British Imperialists aiming at incorporating Basutoland into apartheid Republic of South Africa all these minerals were not prospected although geologists bear testimony to this effect.

More work

The work ahead of us is extremely cumbersome. The national construction which will be confronted with forces of neo-co-

lonialism, will require the machinery calculated to pulvirise and render futile any obstacle.

The colonialist orientated clique or traitors — whatever you call them — are trying very hard to instil fear in to the minds of Africans that Basutoland will not be able to stand on her own due to scarcity of industries. They went on telling the people that once the country became independent South Africa will therefore sever the relationship with Basutoland and Africans will consequently be subjected to colossal famine.

We begin to wonder whether these puppets forget that they are talking to matured people imbued with African nationalism the real embodiment of the African personality.

As we will be free sooner than the renegades expect, we still want to show the world particularly the world of puppets that Basutoland will grow faster and keep abreast with the free countries on the continent.

Politically, socially, economically and culturally we shall, in no doubt, grow to enormous dimensions. Who can doubt that the wind of change, that has been transformed into a hurricane, has penetrated even the granite wall around Matsieny the wall which was extended to such a distance as 48 miles with an ultra-motive to mar the nation's procession to Qalabeme where the grave of colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism was going to be dug.

The day when this grave was dug the spirit of Moshoeshoe descended and hovered over B.C.P. with its dynamic leader Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle leading the procession.

The day was momentous and unique. This was the day on which the historic Report was made. As the people on horse back, in cars and buses as well as on foot were milling towards this historic place the puppets and traitors started howling hopelessly at the mighty black — green — red forces.

When the 70,000 people assembled at Qalabane the black cloud appeared on the eastern side and vered above the crowd as though heralding the days of independence. We could read on the facial expression of the people the words which were :

Go and seek thee the lost sheep.

This lost sheep was locked in the granite wall of imperialism which was cracked by the mighty black-green red force.

The cloud led the procession around Qalabane. The sombre and pomposity of the procession expressed the presence of Moshoeshoe. It was a dismal failure and shame on the part of sons of Moshoeshoe who tried to stand in front of this holy procession. The wheels of African nationalism that followed this cloud pulvirised the stones which were placed in front of nation when the report was going to be made.

Basutoland is waiting rather impatiently for the election towards the end of the year for Internal Government. Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle the fiery nationalist has been instructed by the nation to prepare not only for these elections which are for internal Government but for complete independence.

May I say before conclusion that the mighty black-green-red force will not rest until Lesotho has attained independence.

Scene at one of the Rallies held by the Basutoland Congress Party during the critical period December-January 63/64. A crowd estimated at 8,000 had attended this particular rally. The people expressed full support of the Party's call for Independence, and denounced retrogressive Chieftainship.

The people's Leader. The National President of B.C.P., Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle with the members of Party's Women's League.

AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISM

— From Cassablanca to Bamako

ALL African States are faced with complex economic and social problems, all of which are the result of imperialist and colonial exploitation. Unemployment, poverty, illiteracy are but a few of these problems. One of the main tasks of the African Labour Movement is to create favourable conditions for the mobilisation of the African working masses in the attempt to find solutions to these problems.

by
John Tettegah
Secretary-General
ALL AFRICAN TRADE UNION FEDERATION

The Second Congress of the All-African Trade Union Federation — AATUF — held in Bamako last June not only discussed this need but also drew up a detailed programme for all its affiliates, suggesting ways of dealing with this need. Two key questions posed themselves in our attempt at defining the role of the Trade Unions in the African Revolution :

Firstly, what should be the role of the Trade Unions where independence gave political power to forward looking Nationalists who are striving to build an independent and planned economy with the broad masses, as a basis of creating conditions favourable for the building of socialism ?

In such circumstances, the African Trade Unions must back the Revolutionary Mass Parties in their fight for the consolidation of political power.

Secondly, what should be the role of the Trade Unions in countries where independence gave political power to the allies of imperialism ?

In our view, the African Trade Unions must in such countries constitute themselves into a militant detachment in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist-front. They must join the other socialist forces in the fight for vesting political power in the broad masses.

Another achievement of equal significance at Bamako was the agreement reached by the 36 African Trade Union Centres who were represented over the Charter of the AATUF.

Agreement was also reached over the key question of DISAFFILIATION. Both the Charter (Chapter III) and the Constitution (Article IX) stated in clear and unequivocal terms that AATUF and its member Organisations "shall be independent of all international Trade Union Organisations".

The principle of "disaffiliation" is the same as the concept of positive neutralism or non-alignment. To affiliate an African Trade Union Centre with any of the international Trade Union Organisations who are involved in the COLD WAR contradicts the whole purpose of the policy of non-alignment. In the past decade, Trade Union Organisations in the Western countries have been meddling directly and indirectly in the affairs of the African Trade Unions.

Mr. Victor Riesel, who describes himself as a Labour Journalist is currently touring some African States spreading the false doctrine that by adhering to the principle of non-alignment and positive neutralism, the AATUF is anti-West, and that we are the cause of his imaginary split in the African Labour Movement. Perhaps the world and those who have respect for truth, know better that since our Second Bamako Congress, the African Trade Union Movement is no longer split but is today firmly welded together in the All-African Trade Union Federation.

I will prove to Victor Riesel and those who might believe his lies about AATUF that on the contrary, it is the American State Department and the ICFTU which have worked in the past and are still working to split the African Trade Union Movement. I am being compelled to re-state these facts for historical purposes as revealed by the American who are involved in this wicked conspiracy against united Africa.

In his recent work, "African in World Politics", Professor Vernon McKay states : —

> "In Africa, the ICFTU has organised Trade Unions (and) countered communist efforts to penetrate the African Labour Movement."
> ..... (Page 260).
> "In addition to their activities through the ICFTU, (individual) American Trade Unions have their own programmes for Africa ..... (Page 261).
> "At an early stage, Tom Mboya was singled out as a favourite of American labor.
> "In 1957, he was given $ 35,000 by the AFL — CIO and later an additional $ 21,000" ..... (Page 262).

Professor Vernon McKay is no ordinary American University Professor. He is Chairman of the United States State Department's Advisory Council on African Affairs. As such, he should know all about the American Labour Movement and their policies in relation to the African Trade Unions. That this interference forms part of the official policy of the U.S. State Department has again been confirmed in a recent publication, ironically called "Spearheads for Democracy" by George Cabot Lodge, son of Henry Cabot of U.N. and South Vietnam "fame". Mr. George C. Lodge was an Assistant Secretary of Labour for International Affairs in the U.S. Government.

In this book, Mr. Lodge in fact tries to make out the case *for more direct* U.S. interference in the African Trade Unions and in the labour movements of the developing nations. This shows quite clearly the significance the U.S. State Department attaches to the Trade Union Movements in Africa.

Up until July of 1958, the ICFTU could claim that it controlled affiliated Trade Union Centres in no less than 21 African countries comprising about a quarter of the total membership of the African Trade Unions. This was the state of affairs when the first AATUF Preparatory Conference was held in Accra.

At this conference, the ICFTU and the other labour agencies of the imperialist countries were exposed and denounced by almost all the delegates. Ironically, it was the graduates of the ICFTU College in Kampala who were loudest in their condennation of the ICFTU's splitting and subversive activities.

On the 29th of May 1961 at Cassablanca, the All-African Trade Union Federation was born. The delegates from almost all the Trade Union Centres in Africa agreed to a Declaration of Purpose. The Declaration dealt a powerful blow to the ICFTU by calling for the disaffiliation of all the member organisations from all non-African Trade Union Organisations within ten months.

We did not leave the Conference Hall at Cassablanca before the agents of the imperialists began to plan the liquidation of AATUF. Shortly after Cassablanca, it became known that the representatives of the Trade Unions of the countries who had hitherto colonised us and their American collaboraters (AFL — CIO) were working feverishly to establish a rival organisation.

In January 1962, a rival Organisation was in fact set up and called the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC) with headquarters at Dakar. The Trade Union leaders who were on the pay-roll of Anglo-American imperialism naturally committed their organisations to this agency of the ICFTU. And so once again, the African Trade Unions found themselves divided not because of any basic ideological disagreement, but at the instance of collective western imperialism.

By aligning themselves to these non-African Trade Unions the African Trade Unions exposed their Organisations to all kinds of external pressures and influences which were often not in the interests of the African working masses.

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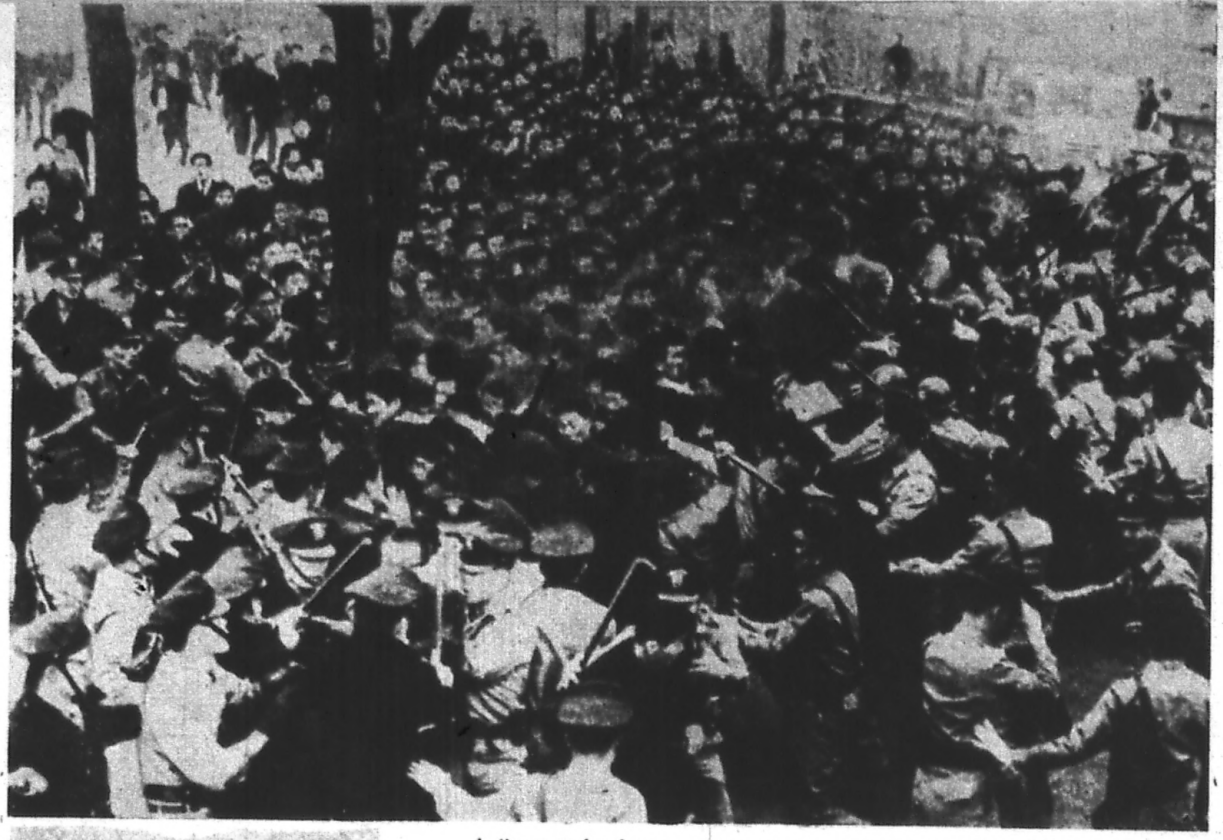

A fierce melee between demonstrators and puppet police of Pak Jung Hi.

PRESS GAGGING IN SOUTH KOREA

The U.S. imperialists and the Pak Chung Hi Clique have railroaded through the fascist "Press Ethics Commission Law" in an effort to paralyse the press and seal up the unbiased public opinion and patriotic voices of the people.

This is part of the scheme U.S. imperialism and the Pak Chung Hi Clique are frantically carrying on to reinforce the fascist system in all social and political life in South Korea since they lifted "martial law" under pressure of the powerful demand of the people and public opinion at home and abroad.

The U.S. imperialists and the Pak Chung Hi clique are now trying to continue and legalize, on the strength of this evil law, the press gag under "martial law".

Under "martial law" which lasted for 70 odd days they applied military censorship in all publications including dailies, weeklies and monthlies and banned all reports which went against their grain.

More, they arrested and imprisoned more than 300 reporters, editors and professors on the charge of "sedition" and violation of the "Anti-Communist Law" and let loose militarymen to raid newspaper offices.

The press gag of the Pak Chung Hi Clique did not start today or yesteday.

From the first day of their coming to power, the Pak Chung Hi clique have resorted to every means to blot out the freedom of speech and the press.

On May 16, 1961, the very day of the "military coup" they silenced the press by subjecting it to strict censorship by dint of "emergency martial law" and "proclamation No. 1 of the military revolutionary committee".

They narrowed down the scope of press activities to the minimum by way of tabooing the news coverage on branch offices in local areas.

Under the name of "purification of public opinion" the military regime made public "proclamation No. 11 of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction" on May 23, 1961, and then closed down overnight 1.205 newspapers, news agencies and magazines and the other publishing organs including 76 dailies.

Commenting on the press gag in South Korea, even a Western news agency had this to say: the news censorship is far more rigid than that enforced by Syngman Rhee under martial law and is even more vicious than that at the time of the Japanese inperialists' rule and the number of reporters thrown out of employment reached 50 or 60 thousands.

The fascist nature of Pak's press gag finds vivid expression in his "press policy" adopted on June 28, 1962, and in the "law on the registraion of newspapers and news agencies" enforced on January 10 this year following the "transfer of power to civilians".

Since mid August, 1962, they have carried into effect the "one-issue-per-day system" for all the South Korean newspepers and forcibly closed down hosts of press organs on the plea that "their installations were below the standard".

Thus a total of 1.241 press organs have been shut down in South Korea since Pak Chung Hi assumed office.

The military fascist clique have cooked up various kinds of evil laws in an attempt to justify the harsh repression of the press activities as well as the willful arrest, imprisonment and execution of progressive and conscientious journalists.

They issued "proclamation No. of the military revolutionary committee" on May 19, 1961, defining as "anti-State organizations, communist parties or organizations considered as their fellow travellers", the "Anti-Communist Law" on July 3, 1961, and then the "Special Law on the Punishment of Special Criminals" and "Temporary Special Law on the Punishment of Special Criminals".

By these evil laws, they can condemn pressmen at any time to more than five years' penal servitude, to life imprisonment and even death on the charge of "sedition".

The Pak Chung Hi ruffians arrested and imprisoned more than 450 journalists in a little more than one month following the "military coup".

They executed Cho Yong Soo, Director of South Korean daily "Minjok Ilbo" on December 21, 1961, and sentenced leading staff members of the paper office to severe punishment for the mere reason that they called for the peaceful unification of the country, and threw many pressmen behind the bars.

Pak Chung Hi made public his "special message on coping with the situation" at the puppet national assembly meeting on June 24 this year under "martial law", prattling that the press had incited and agitated the people too much. He shifted to the press the responsibility for social disorder in South Korea.

Finally, he put into effect the "Press Ethics Commission Law" recently.

Thus, the Pak Chung Hi hordes racing along the road of ruin are now trying to prolong their remaining days through fascist suppression. But this will get nowhere.

The South Korean people and pressmen will surely win all democratic freedoms including the freedom of the press and sweep away the Pak Chung Hi clique pushing aside all fascist suppression, under the banner of the anti-U.S., national salvation struggle.

The puppet policemen taking to their heels when they encountered the onslaught of the masses.

Journalists, students demonstrating against Pak Chung Hi, U.S.A. puppet.

AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISM

We were proved right when in the summer of 1962, ATUC surprisingly protested to the ICFTU against the subversive activities of the ICFTU in Nigeria. Shortly after, the Cameroons withdrew from the ICFTU. In July, the Algerian Trade Unions withdrew from the ICFTU. In the same month, a conference of Trade Union Delegates from Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar recommended withdrawal from the ICFTU. These were serious setbacks for those who wished to see the African Trade Unions perpetually divided.

Meanwhile a workable rapproachment had been organised by the 32 African Heads of State at the historic Addis Ababa Conference. The Charter of the Organisation of African Unity re-inforced AATUF's stand by stating that all African States should pursue "a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocks." (ARTICLE III (7).

We in AATUF have always maintained that the hallmark of a powerful Trade Union Movement is a united and independent Trade Union Organisation. We have always believed that a united, independent Pan-African Trade Union Movement is indispensable in the building of the united socialist Africa of tomorrow. This was why on the occasion of the National Congress of the National Confederation of Mali Workers held at Bamako in July 1963, and in the spirit of Addis Ababa, we proposed a meeting with ATUC to end the division in the African Trade Union Movement. A joint meeting of AATUF and ATUC was held in Dakar from October 17th to 19th last year. AATUF was represented by delegates from the most representative centres in Africa — Algeria, UAR, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria and Ghana; whilst at the Conference, ATUC was represented by delegates like Mr. Ahmed Tlili who had left the UGTT of Tunisia, David Suomali, a paid official of the Christian Trade Unions, Gilbert Pngault of the Christian Trade Unions of the Congo Brazaville and a delegate from Liberia.

At this meeting, we agreed to unite our two organisations into a new continental Trade Union which would be "united and democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist and independent of any international Trade Union Centre". The meeting unanimously agreed that all the African Trade Union Organisations should liberate themselves from any international affiliations. (See Communique — AATUF — ATUC meeting in Dakar).

At Dakar, we agreed to set up a preparatory committee of 14 members entrusted with the responsibility of convening an All-African Trade Union Congress which would act as a Constituent Congress for the new united African Trade Union Organisation. For a whole variety of reasons, this preparatory committee never got going.

Meanwhile, on the 8th of April 1964, the ICFTU gathered 10 National Centres in Addis Ababa and conducted a meeting which they called an African Regional Conference of the ICFTU. Several resolutions were passed, singling out for attack, the Governments of Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali UAR and Tanganyika, who have followed a strict policy of non-alignment and have refused to allow the problems of the post-independence period to be settled at the expense of the workers. The Addis Ababa ICFTU Conference openly declared and here I am quoting Mr. M. E. Jallow, the new ICFTU African Regional Secretary:

"African Trade Unions must be organised as the effective opposition and a check on Nationalist Governments." (Daily Nation — Nairobi).

This is the false doctrine AATUF is opposed to.

It is our mother continent, Africa, we wish to save from the shackles of neocoloniasism. Huge sums of money are being spent to undermine and topple National Governments. We have the facts of the ICFTU expenditure and their secret directives. Nobody is going to be able to discredit the AATUF by mud-slinging propaganda scare of communism.

On the 29th of June this year (that is shortly after Bamako) the remaining General Council of ATUC composed of ICFTU and ICFTU paid officials met in Geneva (Europe) at the 48th session of the ILO Conference.

At the end of their deliberations, ATUC (now very depleted and dismembered because nearly all its affiliates have realised that it is an agency of the very forces that are working against the African workers) published a Declaration.

The Declaration was quite a direct attack on AATUF. The pro-ICFTU elements in ATUC, by distorting facts hoped to cover up their anti-African activities by accusing AATUF of being responsible for the failure to bring about a reapproachment between AATUF and the non-existing ATUC. This ATUC declaration coming two weeks after the successful Second Congress of AATUF at Bamako, was clearly motivated by malice and aimed at subverting the achievements of the African Trade Union Movement in Bamako.

From that great day in May 1961 when the All-African Trade Union Federation was launched in Cassablanca, the Trade Unions of the former metropolitan powers and the American Trade Unions (The AFL — CIO), often collaborating under the aegis of the

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OPPOSE IMPERIALIST DOMINATION IN SPORT AAJA

In a statement issued on the 14th October, the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association draws the urgent attention of all its members and other progressive journalists to the current situation obtaining in the international field of sports manifested in the Tokyo Olympic Games.

The statement reads as full:

"The refusal of the IAAF (International Amateur Athletic Federation) and the FINA (International Swimming Federation) to allow the GANEFO athletes and swimmers to participate in the Tokyo Olympic Games is a gross and arbitrary denial of their rights and is in direct contradiction to the spirit of the IOC decision of Lausanne of June 26th.

"The IOC attitude after its Lausanne June 26th decision is not in conformity to its later stand when confronting the IAAF and FINA. For the IOC to claim that the participation of GANEFO swimmers and athletes in the Olympic Games is a matter entirely of these two bodies, is a gross negation of its earlier decision, and is an exposition of its connivance with these two bodies. In fact it leaves no doubt as to the insincerity of the IOC and smacks of a calculated and deliberate scheme to at all costs discriminate against GANEFO participants, undermine GANEFO, and is an unfriendly and anti Afro-Asian move.

"All this thoroughly convinces us of imperialist domination in these bodies.

"As a consequence of these unfriendly and anti progressive anti GANEFO acts the Secretariat of AAJA does not share the opinion as stated by others that 'the Tokyo Olympic will facilitate the further consolidation of friendship and cooperation between all people'. Neither are we convinced that the Olympic contests are 'important because they enable people of various races, holding the most diverse political and religious opinion, to meet under the banners of sporting friendship'. The current actions of the IOC, IAAF and FINA makes travesty of these high sounding phrases.

"The Secretariat is convinced and reiterates that the IOC does not represent the new revolutionary world situation obtaining today, cannot be reconstituted under its present imperialist dominated position, and note with apprehension a tendency, in spite of the discriminatory and undemocratie features of the IOC, among certain Friendly countries to still regard the Olympics as presently constituted as the one and all in the sporting world.

"We reassert that the only altertive now is the strengthening of the GANEFO, and the consolidation of the new emerging forces in the efforts in our common struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all its manifestations. We thus call upon all our members and sympathetic friends to unflinchingly work toward this goal, and in no uncertain terms condemn the attitude of the IOC, IAAF and FINA as sinister, unfriendly to the AA peoples and machinated by the imperialist countries diminating the IOC.

"Finally the Secretariat extends to all the Indonesian and North Korean Olympiads in particular, and in general to all Ganefo athletes prevented from participation in the Tokyo Olympic Games its full and unconditional support".

AFRO-ASIAN EVENTS DOCUMENTS-REPORTS

* Communique — Arab Summit
* Communique of 1964 Peking Symposium
* Memorandum to O.A.U. Conference in Cairo

Document - Report I COMMUNIQUE-ARAB SUMMIT

The Council of the Kings and Heads of States of the Arab League in its second meeting, at Al Montazah Palace — Alexandria, from Rabi Tani 28, to Camadi El Awal, 5, 1384, or September 5-11, 1964 (Ailul),in which met :

His Majesty King Hussein — of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan ;

El-Sayed El Bahi El Adgham, Representative of H.E. the President of the Republic of Tunisia ;

President Ahmad Ben Bella, President of the Democratic Popular Republic of Algeria ;

President General Ibrahim Abbud, President of the Higher Council of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Sudan ;

President Field Marshal Abdel Salam Mohammed Aref, President of the Republic of Iraq ;

Prince Faisal Al Saud, Deputy for the King of Saudi Arabia ;

President General Mohammed Amin El Hafez, President of the National Council of the Revolution Command of the Arab Syrian Republic :

President Gamal Abdel-Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic;

President Field-Marshal Abdallah El Sallal, President of the Yemeni Arab Republic :

Prince Sheikh Abdallah Al Salem Al Sabbah, Prince of the State of Kuwait;

President Charles El Helw, President-Elect of the Republic of Lebanon;

King Idriss I — King of Libya ;

Prince Abdallah — Representative of H.M. the King of Morocco ;

El-Sayed Ahmed El-Shukairy, Head of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The Council studied the Secretary General's report regarding the principles and resolutions adopted in the first session, the fulfilment of their implementation and the ways of consolidating them ;

The Council expressed its satisfation at the unity of the Arab Word ; at the continuation of the implementation of the precedent decisions; at the start of association in joint constructive actions conducive to ensuring their progress, and the upholding of the causes of liberty for which they are struggling.

The Council achieved in this session novel successes in strengthening the solidarity and the joint Arab action, and adopted resolutions complementing those of its precedent session, and augmenting their power and efficacity.

The Council unanimously approved the determination of the national objective for the liberation of Palestine from Israeli colonialism ; and of being bound to a plan for the joint Arab action ; both for the present stage the plans of which have been laid, and for the succeeding stage for which it has been decided to make preparations.

The Council stressed the necessity of mobilising all Arab potentialities, and the concentration of their capacities and capabilities for confronting the challenge of colonialism and zionism, and the persistence of Israel in continuing its inimical policy, and defying the rights of the Arabs of Palestine in their homeland.

The Council adopted the resolutions ensuring the implementation of Arab plans, and in particular in the military and technical fields ; and amongst such plans, the immediate start on the Arab projects for the exploitation of the waters of the Jordan River and its tributaries.

The Council welcomes the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organisation for the consolidation of the Palestine Entity and as a vanguard for the collective Arab struggle in order to liberate Palestine ; it also approved the Organisation's decision regarding the formation of the Palestine Liberation Army and specified the obligations of the member-States to assist it in the undertaking of its functions.

The Council interested itself in the political and economic studies concerning the relations of the Arab countries with foreign countries and in the results of the voyages undertaken by the Arab Ministers of Foreign Affairs; it expressed its appreciation of the attitudes of the countries which showed their support for the Arab causes and in particular the Palestine cause and decided to follow up the contacts and complete the studies in preparation for the implementation of the principle decided upon in the first session which provides for the regulation of the relations of the Arab countries with the foreign countries in accordance with their attitudes towards the Palestine cause and the other Arab causes.

The Council confirms the Arab determination to stand in the face of anti-Arab forces foremost among which is Britain with its colonisation of some Arab areas, and the exploitation of their wealth, and the acts of extermination which it practises in the Occupied South in defiance of the Charter and principles of the United Nations and the right of peoples to self-determination and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Committee for the Liquidation of Colonialism.

The Council resolved to combat British imperialism in the Arab Peninsula and to provide assistance to the liberation movement in the Occupied South and Oman.

The Council gave its attention to consolidate brotherly Arab relations in the Emirates of the Arab Gulf as a safeguard of the indivisible Arab liberty and in realisation of the common interests.

The Council also studied the means for the consolidation of the unified Arab action within the framework of the Arab League ; from the political, defence, economic and social points of view. Moreover, it studied the consecration of joint efforts for the edification of Arab progress.

The Council has given special care to the consolidation of Arab economic cooperation and the execution of the agreements thereof, since cooperation is the fundamental foundation upon which Arab power and progress rest ; as well as the necessary foundation for standing against foreign challenges ; this in addition to the fact that it is the first objective of contemporary international groupings.

Moreover, the Council asserts the necessity of doubling cooperation and of increasing the economic support to the countries of the Arab Maghreb.

In addition, the Council resolved to form a joint Arab Council for nuclear research for peaceful purposes within the framework of the Arab League, the establishment of an Arab Court of Justice, and that the meetings of the Arab Kings and Heads of State should periodically be held in September of every year.

It also resolved that the Follow-Up Committee should continue its activities meeting once every month at the present levels ; provided it should meet every four months at the lavel of Prime Ministers or Deputy Prime Ministers in one of the Arab countries.

This meeting at the level of Prime Ministers or Deputy Prime Miniters should assume the character of an executive authority for the Council of Kings and Heads of State, and should look into urgent matters, in conformity with the resolutions of the Arab Kings and Heads of State. It should also be directly charged with executing as well as speeding up the established plans. Besides, it should undertake the preparation of the proposals put forward before the Arab Kings and Heads of

Continued on page 28

State. It is also authorised to ask the Kings and Heads of State to run extraordinary meetings, in urgent matters or in case events require a speedy meeting.

The Council, likewise, welcomes the joining of the rest of the member States in the Joint Arab Defence Treaty, this Treaty thus completing the means of its efficacity in the whole of the big Arab Nation from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arab Gulf.

The Arab Kings and Heads of State assert that any attack on any one of the Arab States will be regarded as an attack on all the Arab States; all of which are committed with repelling it immediately.

The Council, in its faith in Afro-Asian solidarity, supports the results of the second African Summit Conference held in Cairo in July (Tamouz) last, and finds hope in the development of African unity and in what was revealed by events which showed that neo-colonialism is using Israel as a tool to realise its ambitions in developing countries, to fight the aspirations of these nations regarding progress strength and unity and its ambitions concerning the continuation of illegal foreign exploitation.

It confirms that the causes of just peoples and their right to freedom and self-determination and the elimination of imperialism and racial discrimination is a whole which does not admit of division, and that Arab-African cooperation is a foundation for Arab policy by virtue of history, geographic position and the common interests and objectives.

For this reason, the Council supports struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, the so-called Portuguese Guinea and South Africa for freedom, and condemms the attempts of foreign intervention in the Congo.

In the belief of the Arab-States that international cooperation and world peace constitute part of the basic foundations for world prosperity and the happiness of humanity, the Council expresses its regret over what took place recently concerning the imperialist show of strength and its call to use it in solving international contrary to the universal tendency which prevailed during the past years towards the affirmation of the policy of peaceful coexistence and the lessening of international tension.

The Council confirms the necessity for liquidating the imperialist bases which threaten the safety and security of the Arab area, in Cyprus and in Aden in particular.

The Council exhorts the major powers to be inspired in their policy and actions by the will of the people and the principles of peace based on justice, and the right of nations to independence and self-determination.

The Council attaches great importance to the works of the International Trade and Development Conference, hoping that it will continue to increase international cooperation in the field of economy for the benefit of all humanity.

The Arab Kings and Heads of State, having committed themselves to the collective Arab Work, serving the causes of freedom and progress in the great Arab homeland, and also serving world peace and cooperation, call upon every Arab citizen to fulfil his duties in this critical stage, and pray God to guide the footsteps of their Nation in its legitimate, just struggle, and to cause the word of right, justice and peace to prevail over the world.

In response to the invitation extended by King Al-Hassan the Second, the Council decided to hold its coming meeting in September (Aylul) 1965, in the Kingdom of Morocco.

Document - Report II

Communique of 1964 Peking Symposium

The 1964 Peking Symposium which was attended by 367 scientists from 44 countries and regions in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania was held in the 11 days from August 21 to 31, 1964. The 44 countries and regions were: Afghanistan, the East African Academy (Kenya, the United Republic of Tanganyka and Zanzibar, Uganda), Algeria, Angola, Australia, Bolivia, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, the Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Dahomey, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, the Democratic people's Republic of Korea, the Lebanon, Malgache, Mali, Mexico, Marocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, The Sudan, Syria, Thailand, the United Arab Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Southern Vietnam and the Yemen.

The Symposium received 299 papers on natural and social sciences, which were read and discussed at the meetings of the committees of natural science, engineering, agricultural science, medical science, political science and law, economics, education, philology and literature, philosophy and history. These papers showed that science is developing rapidly in the participating countries. Through the reading and discussion of the papers the achievements and experiences in scientific researches were exchanged at the Symposium, questions of common interest, such as the winning and safeguarding of national independence, the developing of national economy and culture, the developing of science, and the promotion of scientific and technical co-operation among various countries were discussed, and thus mutual understanding was improved and fruitful results in science were reaped. Determined to convene a Symposium of their own and guided by their scientists' good sense, the scientists from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania came to participate in this Symposium with the desire to learn from one another and make progress together. The Symposium was imbued with the spirit of democracy and consultation and there was a prevailing atmosphere of solidarity and friendship. It will exert great and far-reaching influence on the strengthening of the solidarity and co-operation of the scientific circles of the countries of the four continents and the whole world and on the development of science in these countries and the world. It has added a fresh and glorious page to the history of world science.

The Symposium has been held in the spirit of the communique of the preparatory conference for the 1964 Peking Symposium which was published in September 1963, namely, only by opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, winning and safeguarding national independence and defending world peace can the national economy, culture and science of the countries of Africa, Asia Latin America and Oceania be developed. The Symposium held that future symposia should also be held in this spirit.

The Symposium considers that symposia on multiple branches of science such as the present one are very helpful and necessary and has decided that another Symposium should be held in 1968 in Peking. It is hoped that within the four years from 1965 to 1968, symposia on particular branches of science or on more specialized topics can be held in some countries and that various countries will keep in touch with one another so that those interested can attend.

In order to prepare for the 1968 Peking Symposium and to keep in contact with the scientific organizations and scientists of the participating countries and regions, this Symposium decides to set up in Peking, China, a liaison office for the 1968 Symposium, and that the Chinese side will be responsible for the liaison work. Scientific organizations or scientists of countries or regions that have participated in the present Symposium may of their own accord take part in the liaison work. The liaison office of the 1968 Peking Symposium will publish from time to time a circular for the purposes of exchanging information and maintaining mutual contacts.

Document-Report III.

MEMORANDUM to the SECOND O.A.U. SUMMIT CONFERENCE

(Cairo-17th to 21st July, 1964).

The Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa hails the Second Summit Conference of the African Heads of State and Government and the great strides taken during its first year of existence by the Organisation of African Unity towards the consolidation of African Unity. This great progress needs no elaboration by us; what we are concerned here with is the awkward fact that, whilst this dynamic process is taking place, other parts of the continent are still vanguishing under the most inhuman conditions of oppression.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, the Portuguese colonies and the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland requires the urgent attention of a united Africa. The Verwoerd regime in South Africa is without doubt the most intransigent, recalcitrant and reactionary. Its continued flouting of world opinion is now legendary. The threat it poses to peace in Africa and the world generally cannot be overstated.

Mangaliso Sobukwe

The case of the President of the Pan-Africanist Congress, MANGALISO R. SOBUKWE, is a glaring example of the lengths to which the Verwoerd government goes in suppressing the genuine aspirations of the African people, as of the complete breakdown of the rule of law in this troubled land. Sobukwe, the tried and tested leader of the African people in South Africa, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in 1960 for leading a positive action campaign during which the revolting massacres of our people by police at Sharpeville and Langa took place.

Instead of releasing him after he had duly paid the penalty for his action, the Verwoerd regime in an unprecented move in 1963, brought a bill which was rushed through the settler Parliament specially to enable the government to hold Sobukwe in indefinite detention. Sobukwe was detained for an indefinite period or, in the words of the Minister of Injustice, for all time "this side of eternity".

In this way the Verwoerd government hoped to break Sobukwe or, better still, to do away with him gradually, by some process of slow death. Inspite of all this, however, Sobukwe remains as determined as ever and, with his now legendary courage, to continue to play his role in the liberation struggle even from behind prison bars.

A few weeks ago, at one of what are now becoming routine visits by the settler press which take place each year when the question of his detention is reviewed — visits which are used by the government to show the settler electorate that his continued detention is "justified" — Sobukwe relentlessly declared: "I will not be silenced; only death and the grave can stop me from speaking for the cause of African freedom." His incarcerators had made it a condition of his release that he would desist from political activity. Sobukwe chose imprisonment behind bars rather than the imprisonment of his spirit. From the time, when the detention order was first issued and it was suggested he might save himself from further suffering by undertaking to have nothing to do with the struggle of his people, he had once more set the pace by declaring: "If you believe in freedom then you have to suffer for it".

Political prisoners

Forced labour, uprooting of whole township communities to enforce apartheid in total disregard for the human suffering all this entails — these are but a few of the traces of a Nazi-type ideology the implementation of which, left unchecked, could result ultimately in the extermination of the Africans in South Africa. Ruthless political methods are applied in the furtherance of this inhuman end. The total suppression of all sorts of political activity among the Africans, including mock trials, banishment, restrictions to certain areas, jailings and detentions without trial as well as downright torture, is the order of the day in Apartheid land.

On Robben Island — where Sobukwe is held — alone there are more than 900 political prisoners including the recently convicted leaders of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. These were convicted following the rounding up of approximately 10,000 leading P.A.C. activists last year. Of this total, about 5,000 are still being held without trial or being tried for sabotage, furthering of or belonging to an outlawed political organisation. In the year 1963 alone no less than 40 PAC men were sentenced to death, 12 of whom have already been executed, and six to life imprisonment. A total of 743 persons — of whom 724 are P.A.C. activists — were convicted on political offences in that year and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from one to 25 years and totalling 4,724 years.

This is a calculated campaign to terrorise the entire African population into submission to tyranny. The revolting bloodbath that shocked the world at the time of the Sharpeville and Langa massacre (1960), when police armed with machine guns and rifles moved down 72 and maimed about 200 P.A.C. activists, was all part of this terror campaign to beat down the awakened masses of our land.

COMMISSION OF MILITARY EXPERTS

While commending the economic measures taken by the African States and the campaign they are waging to secure the participation of the entire community of nations through the United Nations in economic sanctions against South Africa, the Pan-Africanist Congress feels that the time has come when these measures must be coupled with military action to achieve the quickest results. It has long ceased to be an issue whether or not an armed struggle should be waged in South Africa. What is of grave concern is the military imbalance that is growing worse as the Verwoerd Government's defence budget soars year after year, having now reached the £ 115-million mark. How many more lives and how much suffering must be added to the already heavy toll on the liberation front before the revolutionary forces in South Africa can be placed in a position to return fire?

It is our considered view that, useful as economic sanctions are, should these be taken in isolation, the Verwoerd regime, aided and abetted by the Western powers, can sustain itself for a long time yet. There is no more room for santions or boycotts unless these are part of a grand-design, a master-plan which is carried out with military precision towards a complete blockade of South Africa. It is also our view that should these measures be coupled with sufficient material and technical aid for internal military action, then the Western powers will begin to realise the gravity of the situation and the need to abandon their double-dealing, thus making it possible to bring down the Verwoerd regime in the quickest possible time and with the least possible loss of life. We suggest as the first step the convening of a conference of military experts to study all the military aspects of the South African problem, followed by a political conference where some permanent machinery can the created as contained in the following four-point proposal:

FOUR-POINT PROPOSAL TO SUMMIT CONFERENCE

(1) That the African States accept the imperious necessity of immediately embarking on a large-scale programme of training and equipment of the revolutionary forces in South Africa for a total war of liberation.

(2) The setting up of a Commission of Military Experts to study the logistics of revolutionary warfare and other attendant and relevant matters, with special reference to the resistance capacity of this highly industrialised modern State.

(3) The creation of a Permanent Political Commission to study the Report of the Commission of Military Experts and adapt it to the realities of the Continental and international situation.

(4) The establishment of an Education Commission for the promotion of the academic and technical education of cadets from the non-independent countries, and for the co-ordination of all international aid rendered for this purpose in the form of scholarships and finance.

Signed:

A.B. NGCOBO

Leader of P.A.C. Delegation.

of "Buy America" policy by the U.S. Government, ineffectiveness of the GATT are some of the things which the Second Afro-Asian Conference will have to take note of and to chalk out its future programme accordingly. In fact, the preparatory meetin for the Second Afro-Asian Conference held at Djakarta in April last has already given the lead by providing that Afro-Asian nations participating in the Geneva World Trade Conference should review the conclusions arrived at there among themselves. We believe that the countries in our region should diversify their trade and economy in such a manner that they can face the outside world as single economic unit.

Question. What hopes does your Excellency and government entertain for the success of the next Bandung Conference ?

Answer. We are naturally hopeful of the success of the Second Afro-Asian Conference. Firstly, because the Afro-Asian nations are animated by a strong desire to come together, when even advanced countries are being forced to weld themselves into larger Unions and Associations for the preservation and promotion of their economic and other interests. Secondly, the peoples of Asia and Africa have so much in common in the economic, cultural and other fields that only good can emerge from their joint deliberations. We hope that the Second Afro-Asian Conference would contribute a lot towards lessening tensions in the region.

It is true that some countries have been opposing the convening of the Second Bandung Conference for reasons of their own. They may or may not succeed in arranging a separate Afro-Asian moot but I am certain that they will neither be able to prevent the convening of the Second Bandung Conference nor in any manner minimise its role and importance. I hope they will do nothing to imperil the solidarity of Africa and Asia.

Question. In what way can the Second Bandung be of assistance to the national liberation struggles of the peoples in dependent countries ?

Answer. If the Second Bandung Conference can forge — as we hope it will — a greater and firmer unity among the peoples of Asia and Africa, it is bound to assist in the cause of national liberation struggle of people still in colonial bondage. It can also help prevent the emergence of neo-imperialism from the Afro-Asian soil itself.

KUWAIT.

As a Palestine refugee working in Kuwait as a journalist I am indeed very happy to be associated with the AAJA. It has given us Palestine refugees great comfort to know that you support us and are on our side.

Once again I restate that we are all comrades fighting the same battle; against the same enemy — Imperialism. Therefore, we are required to struggle hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder so that we can live like decent human beings in the future.

Mustafa Ibrahim Mustafa
Al-Khalif Newspapers.

SOMALI REPUBLIC.

I thank you cordially for your noble consideration. My friends and I have thoroughly enjoyed reading every article in this issue. We should esteem it highly if you would continue to supply us and will increase the number of editions.

Mohamed Ali Salam

ZANZIBAR.

On behalf of All Zanzibar Journalists Organisation (AZJO) I am writing this letter to you to express our gratitude and our revolutionary greetings to the Secretariat for sending us regular supplies of "the Afro-Asian Journalist" which our many readers in the United Republic of Zanzibar and Tanganyika find very interesting and inspiring.

We adhere to the Bandung principles and to the Djakarta Declaration. The revolutionary Journal of Africa and Asia are from day to day uniting us all in the struggle against Imperialism, Capitalism, Feudalism, Colonialism new and old.

Our hope is for the total liberation of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We are very glad to know that since the formation of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association and the Pan African Journalists Union in Accra, Ghana, the African and Asian peoples have won many victories.

Once again let me on behalf of the Zanzibar Journalists Organisation extend our solidarity and support in our common task to liquidate all forms of old and new Colonialism from our two mother continent.

Rajab Saleh Salim
VICE PRESIDENT OF ALL ZANZIBAR JOURNALISTS ORGANISATION.

What Our papers Say

UHURU (Dar-es-Salaam)

"The dispatch of US troops and weapons to the Congo(L) poses a big threat to Africa.

"We the neighbours of the Congo should ponder deeply over this US move, otherwise we should soon find ourselves involved in war because of the instigation of that big imperialist country.

"Recent developments in the Congo showed that Joseph Ileo, Cyrille Adoula and Moise Tshombe were all stooges of the imperialists and colonialists. Their master was the United States which had imposed a war on Vietnam and was supporting the Verwoerd and Salazar regimes".

The Indonesian herald

"How and for what purpose this country does with her arms is nobody else's busines but Indonesia's. She can dump the weapons in the ocean if she wants to. But she can also use them to defend herself against the encirclement of Anglo-American encroachments. The presence of British, Australian, New Zealand's and American forces close to her shores and borders does not spell peace. They did not come close to Indonesia for a picnic. Far from it."

El-Rai El-Amm (Sudan)

In an editorial entitled "Serious Provocation and Challenge to African People" paid a tribute to the Congolese nationalists "who has exposed the unchanging nature of Tshombe as the imperialist agent who, by weeping over Lumumba's grave and pretending repentance for his earlier misdeeds, sought to deceive the Congolese people and accept him as Prime Minister. When facts showed that the Congolese people were not fooled by these performances of Tshombe, the United States entered the Congo with its aircraft, dollars and counter-revolutionary experts to prop him up".

Rodong Shinmoon (Pyongyang)

"The Second Arab Summit Conference had demonstrated the firm determination of the people in the Arab countries to smash the aggressive machinations of the imperialists and defend national independence. It also manifested the desire of the Arab people to close their ranks in the struggle for their just cause. Therefore, the Conference contributed to the promotion of solidarity among the Asian and African peoples in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It dealt another serious blow to the imperialists and colonialists headed by the United States".

Anjam (Karachi)

"The U.S. was now definitely bent on a course which if not resisted would bring disaster to Pakistan. Pakistan must implement with greater determination and speed its foreighn policy evolved under the leadership of President Ayub Khan, the policy of getting closer and closer to Pakistan's neighbours, big and small.

"It is in those who are nearer to our home that our strength as well as our security lies, no matter what the neo-colonialists may be plotting from thousands of miles away".

La depenche du Cambodge

"The Saigon coup showed the puppet regime there was tottering and that divisions among South Vietnamese officers were deep.

"No regime in South Vietnam could survive without the daily supply of two million US dollars from Washington. This regime which lived on U.S. prop would certainly not be stable. Its end as well as that of its Washington masters would come very soon".

Mogyo (Rangoon)

"The Nato military bloc headed by U.S. is not only meddling in the internal affairs of Cyprus but is also resorting to various means to occupy this island.

"The Nato military bloc has built nuclear bases in the Mediterranean and sent the U.S. VIth fleet there equipped with rockets and nuclear weapons. This has greatly threatened the Mediterranean with nuclear war.

"The only way to get rid of the danger of nuclear war there is to turn the area into a denuclearised zone".

Al — Jumhooriyah (Baghdad)

"The US is using 'aid' as a means to push though its neo-colonialist policy".

Exposing the imperialists aim of the US — controlled international monetary fund, the paper said: "When giving 'aid' to countries this international establishment imposed on them stringent measures which injured national sovereignty and freedom of the countries. Furthermore, the US wanted to control completely the spending of the 'aid'. If any country was opposed to this, the 'aid' promised would be suspended".

Referring to the US attitude towards Indonesian confrontation of neo-colonialist "Malaysia" the paper said that the US had exercised political pressure against Indonesia and threatened to suspend 'aid'.

Al-Baath (Damascus)

The paper urged the Second Non-Aligned Conference to expose the utterances about peace between the oppressed people and imperialism.

In a commentary the paper said: "People will never believe the peace slogans shouted by imperialism, and can prove by everyday facts that they are lies.

"It is very difficult for the people of the new emerging countries to accept the sort of 'peace' which can only be realised through laying down their weapons. This means surrendering to imperialism and to colonialism to continue forever. History had proved that imperialism could only be eliminated by armed force".

African Trade Unionism

ICFTU, have worked tirelessly for the liquidation of AATUF. When therefore on the 10th of June this year, 102 Trade Unionists from 36 African countries assembled together in the National centre of the Malian Workers, it was clear that the African Labour Movement would not be another victim of ICFTU splitting tactics.

The Nigerian Trade Unions, because they were involved in a major dispute on wages, were not at Bamako. They have, however, since signed the Charter. The Togo Trade Unionists, who were also absent at Bamako, have signed the Charter of AATUF. Of the other absentees, the Malawi Trade Union Congress were unable to send a delegation to Bamako because of Malawi's independence celebrations. That the Malawi TUC will join AATUF is certain. The Sundanese Trade Unions were late to arrive in Bamako but they have also come out in support of AATUF and signed the Charter. Tunisia, Liberia, Ethiopia and Niger were the only real absentees. AATUF's doors are wide open to admit all the absentees at Bamako. Their joining is, however, subject to one condition — an acceptance of the aims and objectives of the AATUF Charter.

What about AATUF's international relations ?

We have sought "consultative" status at the ILO (Constitution of ILO, Article 12 — See page 3) and also the ECOSOC so that AATUF could participate actively in the affairs and deliberations of ILO and UNO. If AATUF is granted this status, AATUF will be able to prepare items for ILO'S Agenda. submit proposals and take part in the Organisation's meetings. Thus under the auspices of ILO, we will be promoting the interests of the workers of the continent of Africa.

What will be AATUF's stand vis-a-vis the Organisation of African Unity ?

At Bamako, we were completely united in our view that the OAU is an Organisation with tremendous possibilities. This is why we applied for and were granted "observer status" in Cairo.

Bamako was clearly a thumping victory for the progressive forces of the African Labour Movement. We are aware, however, that the anti-African forces have redoubled their efforts in their attempts to sabotage the African Trade Union Movement.

In the Geneva Declaration, the few remaining ICFTU paid officials of ATUC stated that they would not unite with AATUF but would seek some form of unity under the umbrella of the OAU. But they are late.

The International relations of the ATUC is frank and objective. We have extended our hands of friendship to all International Organisations who will deal with us on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in the Trade Union affairs of the African Continent.

All the new Manoeuvers of the ICFTU indicate quite clearly that they have little understanding of the depth of solidarity achieved at Bamako. Such is the strength of the African revolution of which AATUF is today the vanguard, that all the reactionary anti-African forces will soon be swept away.

NEWS and VIEWS

SECRETARIAT.

* Joesoef, deputy Secretary General after attending the A+H bomb meeting in Tokyo paid a visit to People's China.

At a reception given in his honour by the All China Journalists' Association, Mei-Yi Vice President of the A.C.J.A. stressed inter-alia that since the establisment of the AAJA, the Journalists of Asia-Africa had strengthened their solidarity. In spite of all vicious attacks by imperialists the AAJA proved the correctness of its line of opposition to imperialism and colonialism and the strengthening of the Unity of the AA peoples. The All China Journalists Association pledged its full support to the AAJA.

SOUTH AFRICA.

* The Secretariat of the AAJA sent a cable to "Prime Minister" Verwoerd vigorously protesting against the imposition of the death sentence on three South African patriots. It also called for the release of African leaders Sobukwe, Mandela and others.

A Cape Town journalist of the paper "Contact" Herald Heald escaped from S. Africa last month and took asylum in neighboring Dar-Es-Salaam. Verwoerd and his all white goverment has closed down all progressive papers in South Africa.

SOUTH VIETNAM.

* The South Vietnam Peoples Revolutionary Party published the first issue of its organ "NHAN DAN", on October first, in the liberated areas of South Vietnam. In a letter to the readers printed in the first issue, the journal, a monthly, assured that it would resolutely expose and frustrate the US intrigues to enslave the Vietnamese peoples and also the manoevres of the U.S. lackeys who betray the fatherland and the people.

A.A.J.A.

* A good-will mission of the AAJA led by Joesoef Deputy-Secretary General is in Africa for 2 months. The delegation has so far, very successfully visited the U.A.R., Algeria, Senegal, Guinee, Mali, Ghana, Congo (B), Ethiopia, and are visiting other East & Central Africa countries. In all the countries visited the delegation has been warmly welcomed and had successful talks with government officials and journalists colleagues.

Another delegation led by L. Morrison returned to headquarters after a six weeks fact finding mission to Africa.

ZAMBIA.

* On the occasion of the Independence celebration of the Republic of Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) the Secretariat sent a cable congratulating Prime Minister Kenneth Kaunda, the goverment and people of Zambia. The Secretariat noted that two of our colleagues Sikoto Wina and M. Sipalo are both Ministers in the Goverment.

AAJ. FRENCH EDITION.

* The first edition of "The Afro-Asian Journalist" French edition will appear this month. The first issue is a collection of a selection of articles from the previous English editions, and will in future contain the same material as the English edition.

SOUTH KOREA.

* 319 newspapers, news agencies and radio broadcasting stations in Seoul formed the "HANKOOK" journalists association with a view to intensify the struggle against the fascist "Press Ethics Committee Law" of the Pak-Jung Hi clique. The Association will recruit members from all parts of S. Korea.

INDONESIA.

* A thirteen man journalists' delegation led by Karim D.P. Charman of the Indonesian Journalist Association (PWI), is on a good will mission to China. A joint statement issued by the PWI delegation and the All China Journalists Association inter-alia condemns imperialist aggression, promises to further consolidate Chinese-Indonesian journalists solidarity, pledges full support to the national liberation movements and extends all support to the AAJA.

JAPAN.

* Japan and Peoples China have agreed to exchange newsmen. Nine Japanese newsmen and nine Chinese newsmen will be exchanged.

ALGIERS.

* A new cultural magazine "NOVEMBRE" has started appearing in Algiers. The director of the publication is M. Mohamed Boudia.

AAJA ATTACKED AGAIN.

* Once more has the correct policy and stand of AAJA been attacked. In the September issue "Democratic Journalist" organ of I.O.J. under the title "The 'Solidarity School' course comes to an end" a prominently displayed article, the German Union of Journalists with G. Krausz as its spokesman viciously and slanderously attack the AAJA. They accuse the AAJA as "splittist of the ranks of journalists on a racial basis" and go on that ..... "Chinese efforts have raised up a seperate Afro-Asian Journalist Association and want to place it in opposition to the Progressive European journalist organisation, which means of course a weakening of the anti-imperialist front". What racialist cant, coming from people who profess to have outlived racism, and big brother chauvinism. To these people anything regional is "splittist". To these people anything not under their thumb is "racialistic". It is an insult to the 40 odd Afro-Asian journalists bodies who belong to the AAJA to say that "the Chinese have raised up a separate A.A.J.A." It is the Afro-Asian Journalists themselves who desired an AAJA. It were their joint efforts not the efforts of one country only.

The AAJA belongs and was "raised" up by the A-A journalists and is not bossed by one country, as are certain other organisations. We pay allegiance only to our unswerving anti-imperialist/anti-colonialist stand, not to one country. These big brother chauvinists do not believe that the journalists from Africa and Asia are capable of forming their own regional anti-Imperialist/anti-colonialists organisations. According to them there must always be a "big" nation hiding at the back.

The "small" countries in Asia and Africa have played just as an important role in the formation of the AAJA.

The speeches etc at the main conference and our popularity in Afro-Asia is proof enough.

It is a sad thing that we must waste space replying to these chauvinists and to these ludricous attacks. We would have preferred utilising this space for something more worthwhile. But these attacks coming from people who are claiming to be "friends" would be laughable if it were not so dangerous and maliciously insulting. In not line of the report is a word said of U.S. imperialism. Apparently to these big brother chauvinists the AAJA, an unswerving anti-imperialists/anti-colonialists Journalists' organisation has become more dangerous than imperialism led by the USA.

the Afro-Asian Journalist

* Editorial Board : Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.
* Secretary-General : Djawoto.
  Deputy Secretary-General : Joesoef.
* Address : Press House, Djakarta, Republic of Indonesia.
* Monthly Review of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.
* Published in the Interest of Afro-Asian Journalists' Solidarity, and of the struggle against Imperialism/Colonialism/Neo-Colonialism.

LIBRARY
PUBLISHING
PRINTING

"Patrice Lumumba is dead. But his Indomitable spirit in placing his country on the map of Africa as an independent and sovereign State will continue to guide and inspire the struggling countries of Asia and Africa in achieving their own independence. His gruesome murder not only shocked the conscience of the civilized world but convinced it beyond doubt that unless imperialism and colonialism are buried a hundred fathoms deep there will be no peace in the world. The happenings in the Congo, Angola, South Africa, Palestine and Kashmir vividly illustrate the varied conspiratorial forms the imperialists and colonialists can assume and the extent to which they can go in achieving their nefarious ends.

"At the earliest opportunity, the journalists of Asia and Africa who met in Djakarta for the first time in April 1963, condemned the foul murder of Lumumba in the strongest terms possible. But the Journalists of Indonesia deserve our highest admiration for their initiative and noble ideals in establishing at Djakarta the Patrice Lumumba Foundation that aims at building a library and a publishing house for publishing material concerning all aspects of life of Asian and African nations in particular and the new emerging forces in general. No better tribute can be paid to the memory of the Great Hero and Patriot of the Congo than the setting up of the Patrice Lumumba Foundation which will be a fresh source of unity and solidarity among the Afro-Asian nations."

Asrar Ahmad

(Pres. Federal Union of Journalists — Pakistan, and Secretary to the AAJA)

LUMUMBA FOUNDATION

DJAKARTA

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